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THE
CHURCH IN GREATER BRITAIN

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THE CHURCH IN GREATER BRITAIN

THE DONNELLAN LECTURES
(DELIVERED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN)
1900—1901

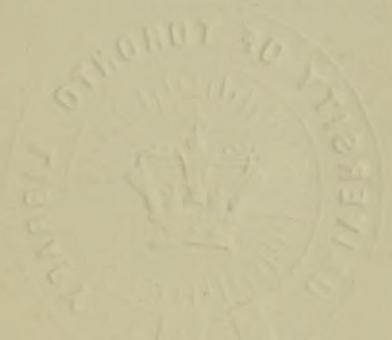
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‘Nihil enim ad posteros gloriosius nec honorificentius
transmitti potest quam barbaros domare, rudes et paganos
ad vitae civilis societatem revocare, efferos in gyrum ratio-
nis reducere, hominesque atheos et a Deo alienos divini
numinis reverentia imbuere.’

HAKLUYT : *Ep. Dedic. to Sir Walter Raleigh of
Peter Martyr's History of the New World.*

P R E F A C E

I HAVE found it difficult to condense so great a subject within the limits of seven Lectures. Had wider bounds been available, I should gladly have travelled beyond the limits of our Colonies, and traced the outlines of the history of the introduction of Christianity into our great Indian Dependency; and I should have had pleasure in passing beyond the limits of our Church, to pay a tribute of grateful acknowledgment of the labours of the principal Nonconformist communions, which have borne no small part in the evangelising of the heathen tribes in Greater Britain. But there were bounds of time and space; and I have been obliged to confine myself to the subject of the planting and growth of the Colonial Church among our countrymen abroad, and among the various heathen tribes with which they are brought in contact.

And here I must reiterate the earnest call for

'more labourers' in the fruitful lands occupied by the Colonial Church, which, in not a few places, is painfully crippled in its efforts by the lack of faithful men to cultivate fields which are 'ripe unto the harvest.'

KILLARNEY: *Whitsuntide, 1901.*

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Then let the Church that first did bless—

The mother of our youth—
Go with us through the wilderness,
And hold the lamp of truth.

And let her words, so sweet and strong,
In the old measure flow,
Lest we forget the cradle-song,
That lulled us long ago.

Lest in the time that's far away,
Estranged in heart and word,
Your children to our children say,
'Ye serve not the same Lord.'

'High temples through your land are piled,
God's presence dwells with you;
Build us an altar in the wild,
Where we may worship, too.'

Bear on—bear on life's gushing wave,
To heathen souls athirst,
To all whom Jesus died to save;
But feed the children first.

C. F. ALEXANDER.

THE
CHURCH IN GREATER BRITAIN

LECTURE I

EARLY MISSIONS FROM THE BRITISH ISLES

'The kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it.
St. Luke xvi. 16.

WHEN we speak of the revival of the missionary spirit in the Church in modern times we make a tacit reference to an earlier vitality and a subsequent decline of the same spirit. We are right in our reference to that earlier vitality, and, unhappily, not wrong when we speak of its subsequent decline. But we are mistaken if we explain the arrest of missionary enterprise after the tenth century simply by saying that the spirit which had urged it had died out of the Church. The Church's advance was arrested, not by a spiritual but by a physical cause. It ceased only when men looked in vain for new lands to conquer for Christ. In the darkest ages there were faithful hearts fixed on Christ, desiring above

all things to serve Him. There were, besides the great reformers of the decaying monastic orders, men like A'Kempis, and Tauler and Wessel in Germany ; like Richard Rolle of Hampole, and Wyclif in England, and Fitzralf in Ireland, whose fervour was kindled from the holiest source ; but of none of these could it be said that the evangelisation of the heathen was a burden on their souls. And why ?

The relaxation of missionary effort was in chief degree caused by the exhaustion of accessible fields of operations. The greater part of the world was unknown to the Middle Ages. There were coasts slightly known to the ancients, but so distant that, with the imperfect means of transit of those days, they could be rarely visited. There were regions in which savage resistance long baffled all efforts of the soldiers of the Cross. There was one hated power which, having seized the Holy Sepulchre in the East, and having gained a threatening foothold in the West, the mediæval conscience regarded as outside the pale of mercy, and to be argued with only by the sword.¹ There were countries where the difficulty of language and the absence of Christian interpreters seem, as illustrated by the tardy conversion of the Slavonic tribes,² to have been a chief cause of the delay in their spiritual conquest. But, speaking generally, until all the known and accessible regions of the

¹ But see p. 22.

² See Neander, *Ch. Hist.*, vol. vii. § 1. (Clark's edition).

world had heard the good tidings, the Missionary Church did not stay her hand.

She could not stay her hand until '*the knowledge of the Lord covered the earth as the waters cover the sea.*'

What is that which, entering into the soul of one man here and another there who has sought and found the grace of repentance and faith, impels him to make self-sacrificing effort that others should share the blessing? An ancient writer, himself a missionary, has likened it to the kindling of a flame, and has applied to it—in a sense which, if not critically permissible, is yet full of true suggestion—the Saviour's words concerning the effect of His incarnation. The biographer of St. Columbanus, the monk Jonas, speaks of his hero as having that 'burning desire' kindled within his heart of which Christ says: '*I am come to send fire upon the earth.*' That sacred fire which came down from heaven on the heads of the first disciples has never been quenched. It has had its times of supernatural fervour, and again it has sunk back almost to be lost among the ashes of formalism; but, again, the Divine breath has rekindled it, and it lives and glows in these latter days as it did in the dawn of Christendom, when its light and warmth were first sent forth for the saving of the nations. The missionary spirit is made up of the love of Christ and the love of man whom He has redeemed; of a profound sense of the duty of obeying

His last command ; of a longing for the universal sway of His perfect kingdom. We have to tell in these lectures the story of the passing of that sacred fire from shore to shore, as the hearts of true men felt its glow and could not rest till others shared their gladness and their toil. For though the missionary spirit is kindled from heaven, it is kindled most frequently through the contact of one whose heart has been touched by the sacred fire with a brother spirit which is, consciously or not, waiting for God's call.

Filled with this spirit the earliest missionaries —Apostles and their followers—planted churches throughout the whole of Southern Europe. The lands bordering the Mediterranean were soon evangelised and portioned out into provinces of the Church. Even in distant India, in earliest times, tradition tells us how apostolic labour planted Christian Sees, some of which subsist to this day. A Christian Church, deriving its bishops from the patriarchs of Antioch and Babylon, has existed in Malabar and in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin for more than fifteen centuries ; and so early as the ninth century the character of its members attracted favourable notice from the native princes. From time to time messengers and missionaries were sent from the Churches of Europe and Western Asia to visit their Eastern brethren. Our own Alfred the Great is said, in the work of William of Malmesbury, to have sent

missionaries to India. It seems more likely that he sent *alms* in accordance with a vow he had made. The identity of the Thomas associated, since the time of Jerome,³ with the early Christianity of Malabar is doubtful. The researches of Dr. Buchanan (1806) first made English Christians acquainted with the very ancient Church of the Syrians of Malabar. The Portuguese on entering India, in the fifteenth century, found a fully organised Church ruled by bishops who traced their succession to the patriarchs of Antioch and Babylon. It is certain that the Nestorians of Persia in the eighth century preached the Gospel in China, leaving traces which were discovered by the Jesuit missionaries of the sixteenth. A monument describing their progress in China was discovered at Siganfu by the Jesuits.⁴ It described their first mission to China, A.D. 656, and related its history till the current year, A.D. 781.

The barbarous tribes of the north of Europe were long unreached. Those awful forests, haunted by fierce wolves ; those harsh barbarians, more cruel than the wolves, forbade the approach of all but the bravest. The hardest and most doubtful struggle which the Church has ever had to wage was that

³ Ep. ad Marcellinam.

⁴ For arguments for and against the genuineness of this inscription see references in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.*, art. 'Nestorianism.' A picture and full account of this remarkable monument is given in Dr. G. Smith's *Conversion of India*, p. 20. For history of Nestorian Missions, see Neander, vol. vii. § 1B (Clark).

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which resulted, only in the ninth century, in the submission of the Teutonic peoples in northern Germany ; and, a full century later, in the spiritual conquest of Scandinavia.

It is only so far as the Churches of the British Isles bore their part in this great struggle that I speak of it in this introductory lecture. Too slight and vague is the information possessed by our church-people, even by those most interested in contemporary missions, on the really fascinating subject of the labours of our forefathers to win the German lands for Christ, from the sixth to the ninth centuries ; or as to the yet earlier missions of the British Church when Ninian was sent to the southern Picts of Galloway a century before Columba began, from Iona, the work of conversion among the northern Picts. The great apostle of Ireland was himself a son and grandson of clergymen of that British Church which was soon to feel the severity of the Saxon conquest. I shall say no more, however, of these earlier British missions, nor of the close intercourse which followed between the Irish monasteries and the Church in Cornwall,⁵ nor yet of the debt which, in the sixth century, the Irish Church, in danger of losing its early purity, owed to the Church of St. David, from whence it was revived.

It is to regions beyond these islands, and to names probably less familiar to you than those

⁵ See Note I.

of Patrick and Columbkille that I ask you to look in illustration of the remarkable missionary devotion of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon Churches, or rather of devoted individuals among the sons whom they brought forth.

As we look back across the centuries, our eyes are attracted by certain figures in monkish garbs of varied pattern, which cross the landscape of northern Europe in the interval of three hundred years between the conversion of the Franks under Clovis, and those eighth and ninth century crusades by which Charlemagne at length persuaded reluctant Saxony to be baptised or crushed. But while western Germany was being subjected to a rough persuasion, and ‘compelled to come in,’ in several regions over which the sword of the Franks made no conquests, by gentler means the Gospel of Christ was being made known to the people who spoke the varied Teutonic dialects. A word of honour must not be denied to the Frankish missionaries who by persuasion softened the asperity of the stern imperial policy. The name of Wolfram, Bishop of Sens, is associated with the evangelisation of the pagans of the Scheldt in the seventh century. To Aloysius, or Eligius of Limoge, history gives the like honour. He was a goldsmith by trade, who, ever studying, as he worked, the open roll of the Scriptures, and becoming a true Christian enthusiast, was ordained and consecrated, and, from the Frankish See of

Noyon, laboured with devotion in the heathen regions beyond.

To Amandus⁶ honour also, who, like Aloysius, dissatisfied with the comforts of a settled bishopric, went forth to evangelise the heathen on the melancholy flats of Guelders and Friesland.

These were Franks. But what is this which unbiased historians tell us of the chief influences which made Germany Christian? Neander, a German, has sketched the work, for Germans, of the men whom I have just named, and then, ere he gives us the details in many interesting pages,⁷ he sums up the lessons which he has learned from the study of original sources in words which must come home to our hearts in this place. ‘Much as was done by the Frankish hermits, a far greater work was performed by the Irish missionaries, through their diligence in cultivating the land, in founding monasteries which became centres of conversion and instruction, and in providing for the education of the young. The largest debt of gratitude, in regard to the work of missions in Germany, was due to the monks from England, and yet more especially to those from Ireland. Sufficient room was wanting in their native land for the employment of the zeal and love of travel so common to the Irish.⁸ It was

⁶ See Note II.

⁷ See Neander, *Ch. Hist.* vol. v. (Clark’s edition).

⁸ *Vita S. Galli*, I. ii. § 4, apud Neander.

natural that the looks of those who were impelled by love of wandering, by innate energy, by the fire of Christian love, to leave their native land, should be directed to those vast wildernesses which were peopled by multitudes to whom Christ was utterly unknown, or among whom the seeds of the Gospel, once dropped, had long been trampled underfoot.' 'It is the Celtic Church of Ireland in those days that the French historian of Christian civilisation calls "Le peuple missionnaire."'⁹

Thus whole colonies of zealous men journeyed forth under devoted leaders, first from the Irish Church; while, a century later, the like stream of evangelists began to flow from England.

It seems desirable that we should know more about this missionary work than is summed up in a few vague phrases. How much of forgotten history is covered by the words of Alcuin, the great English scholar, of noble Northumbrian birth, at the court of Charlemagne, at the close of the eighth century, when he writes: 'In former times the most learned doctors from Ireland were accustomed to go to Britain, to Gaul and Italy, to advance the Churches of Christ'!

It was about the year 590, a century after the accession of Clovis to the Frankish throne, that Columbanus, a native of Leinster, educated in Comgall's great school of Bangor, with some twelve

⁹ Ozanam, *La Civilisation Chrétienne*, ch. iv.

followers, left his native land to settle in north-eastern Burgundy, where the wilderness was brought under cultivation, and the natives of the country were taught to fast, to labour, to study, and to pray.¹⁰ Sinners in high places were rebuked, but it cost the brave head of the mission his liberty, and sent him from his loved monasteries of Luxeuil and Fontaine, to break new ground, far away among the tribe of the Alemanni, by the sources of the Danube and the Rhine.

The ‘rule’ of Columbanus has been charged with undue austerity. But this austerity was not the outcome of a harsh nature. We read that, as he passed through the forest, the birds would perch on his shoulder, and the squirrels nestle in his cowl. His letters to his brethren from his banishment are most moving; and the patient gentleness of his spirit makes it all the more remarkable that he should have felt it necessary to make his rule so severe. The attempt to coerce piety was overstrained. Soon after his death the rule of Columbanus was exchanged for the milder rule of Benedict, which, in its turn, was relaxed to suit the human nature which rules cannot ultimately control.

Persecuted in Burgundy for his unflinching Christian manliness, Columbanus was not long permitted to labour in Switzerland. His dear com-

¹⁰ See Note III.

panion, the Irish Gallus, known familiarly as St. Gall, he was compelled to leave behind to complete his work among the pagan Alemanni, whose idols he had shattered. He advanced southwards, to found a new monastery in the Apennines, whilst St. Gall remained to plant the famous monastic foundation in Switzerland which bears his name. From Bobbio, Columbanus spoke fearlessly to the chief Bishop of Christendom concerning morals, controversies, and the status of the Church of Rome ; and, retiring to a cavern at Trebbia, he departed this life, November 21, A.D. 615, twenty-five years before the death of his devoted disciple, the evangelist of north-eastern Switzerland.¹¹

The Roman Church never quite took Columbanus to its heart. His monastic rule, more stern than that of St. Benedict, was abandoned in favour of that of the last-named saint soon after his death ; his freedom in addressing the Pope was not popular ; his love of Irish customs did not commend him to the foreign authorities ; and even the martyrology of Donegal seems to give him niggard honour, when it condenses his splendid service into one cold phrase, ‘Columbanus, Abbas, qui fuit in Italia.’

These leaders of the Celtic mission were followed by a large number of others from Ireland. Fridolin followed St. Gall in Alsace and Switzerland. In the island of Seckingen, on the Rhine above Basle,

¹¹ See Note IV.

and in the neighbourhood, there is a circle of churches dedicated to St. Hilary and to St. Fridolin, a fact which attests the historical reality of his work as one of the pioneers of Christian enterprise in these regions. Fridolin's name is blazoned on the arms of the Canton of Glarus in Switzerland. The monastery of St. Hubrecht in the Black Forest was an Irish foundation. Kilian, with two Irish disciples, Colman and Totnan, evangelised as far as Würtzburg on the Main. He was martyred, with his companions, in Franconia, in 689, and is honoured as the Apostle of Franconia. The savage tribes of Brabant, about the same time, heard the truth from the lips of the Irish missionary Livinus, who laid down his life, in great tortures, in A.D. 656. Bavaria received the Irish hermit Alto (743), whose cell became the cradle of the Abbey of Altomünster.¹²

While the Gospel was thus being propagated by men of the Scotic or Irish Church in northern and central Germany, that Church was equally engaged in advancing sacred learning at home, both among her own sons, and the many who flocked to her schools from England and even from the Continent.¹³ The zeal of the Anglo-Saxon Church, which somewhat later burned with so bright a flame, depended in very great measure on the earlier devotion to learning and

¹² Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, iii. p. 189.

¹³ See Note V.

to labour found in Ireland.¹⁴ It is not without a thrill of pleasure that an Irish churchman receives proof after proof of the fact that the Scotic Church of Ireland was not only the founder of the Church of the Northern Picts, but, through its daughter of Iona, of the Northumbrian Church, and, later, of those of Mercia and of the East Saxons ; so that when the Anglo-Saxon Church had begun to acquire a stable position and self-consciousness, as one of the great national Churches of Christendom, she had before her the example of the Irish missionaries of the previous century to point her the way across the seas. And England was not slow to follow the example, and to send the choicest of her sons, first to study sacred truth in Ireland, and then to set forth to preach it in regions beyond.

That which the English Church then set herself, through her missionaries, to accomplish, has been recognised by all competent students of history. Gibbon's witness is condensed in one line, 'England produced the Apostle of Germany.' In another place he is equally just to the Celtic missionary. 'At Zug, in Switzerland, idolatry still prevailed in the year 613. St. Columban and St. Gall were the Apostles of that rude community ; and the latter founded a hermitage which has swelled to an ecclesiastical principality and a populous city.'¹⁵

¹⁴ See Note VI.

¹⁵ See *Decline and Fall*, vi. p. 271, vii. p. 7.

It is impossible here to do more than lightly touch on the labours of the leading missionaries of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The first was Wilfrid, the northern Archbishop, and, later, the Apostle of Wessex. Then came Willibrord, whose mission is a sort of link between the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Churches, for his theological studies had been pursued for twelve years in Ireland, as his relative, Alcuin, tells us in his ‘Life ;’¹⁶ and here the pious youth felt impressed with a conviction that he ought not to live only for literary improvement, but to labour for the salvation of others. Willibrord was doubtless brought under the personal influence of Egbert, the great Northumbrian teacher, who had himself been early led, for learning’s sake, to Ireland, and who had settled probably at Mellifont, co. Louth.

But the names of Wilfrid and Willibrord are eclipsed by that great English apostle of Germany—Winfred, by Saxon baptism ; Boniface, by monastic choice—whose life of surprising activity and devotion was closed by a martyr’s death.

It is not recorded that Boniface was at first ecclesiastically ‘sent.’ He arrived in Frisia by the shores of the Zuider Zee about the year 715, where Willibrord’s seat at Utrecht had been planted in the heart of a wild heathen population. No remarkable results following his earlier preaching, and having sought authorisation from Rome, he soon advanced

¹⁶ See Note VII.

to Thuringia, a forest land still abounding in heathenism, and where the faith, formerly preached by Kilian and others, had all but died out. Further and further he pushed on, and baptised many thousands of the Hessians and Saxons. His labours were rewarded by Pope Gregory II. by a missionary bishopric, at first without fixed jurisdiction ; and, later, he became Archbishop of Maintz, from whence he ruled all the bishoprics of the wide Rhine country, from Worms and Speier and Cologne to Utrecht. Under the protection of Charles Martel he established many monasteries, the most famous of which, at Fulda, in the Thuringian forest, has always rivalled that of St. Gall in fame.

Our admiration for the zeal and self-sacrifice of this great Englishman's life is marred in some degree by the knowledge of his extravagant enthusiasm for Rome. His continual struggle against the influence of the Irish teachers abroad shows by a side-light how widely that influence must have spread. Boniface made the German Church, which he had called out of Paganism, more Roman than even the English, at that precise period the most Romanised Church outside Italy.¹⁷

But this great soul—great in energy, great in faith and constancy—could not contentedly resign himself even to the laborious life of a metropolitan bishop. On the throne of Maintz, Boniface remem-

¹⁷ See Note VIII.

bered his early vows, and longed for the perils and joys of the mission-field. He was now seventy-five years of age. He sought and obtained leave from Rome, and resigned his See in favour of his English disciple Lullus, and, leading a band of carefully chosen priests and teachers, he descended the Rhine to Utrecht, and resumed the almost hopeless task, again and again attempted by holy men, of evangelising the ferocious Frisians. Boniface journeyed to and fro with his teachers and preachers in the low marshy country by the Scheldt, past which the Rhine steamers now part the sluggish stream, and over which dreary flats the slow vanes of the pumping windmills are for ever turning in the salt breeze from the northern sea. Passing northwards to Friesland, he settled at a place, now called Dockum, by the Lawer Zee. Soon hundreds flocked to be taught. He had prepared many for baptism on a certain day. But the morning light revealed, not a band of catechumens coming to the Holy Sacrament, but a murderous mob, who fell on the unresisting missionaries. The long and heroic life was ended. And the name of the martyr-missionary, who brought the Gospel from England to Germany, was inscribed high on the roll of English missionaries who have won the martyr's crown. The roll has received many names since then; and the Church of England has still this honour from God in the twentieth century as in the eighth, that

there are of her children those willing to die for Christ.

These labours for Friesland were not, however, in vain. Within a few years the iron hand of Charlemagne consolidated the Frisian Church ; and by the beginning of the ninth century all Germany and the Netherlands were settled as provinces of expanding Christendom.

Costly as was the Church's victory among the Teutonic peoples, she has received back from them fourfold for all her toils. Christendom was slow to win the daring spirits of the north ; but, when the victory was hers, she found that she had taken to her breast those who taught her lessons which it was reserved for them, and not for the Greek, or Roman, or Frankish people, to teach. Into the Church's hallowed circle those conquered Teutons carried their love of liberty, their sense of individuality, their determination to see things as they are. And so the importance of the victory in Germany was not merely that it extended very widely the Christian borders, but that it introduced into the highly organised City of God the as yet but scantily recognised principles of individual freedom and responsibility, in which each man's relation to God is personal and complete. Christian manliness has learned most from these nations of the north. The Reformation of the sixteenth century was far removed in time from the age of Boniface, and few

would have been less pleased than he could it have been foretold to the churchmen of his day. But it was the natural result, in the course of God's providence, of the introduction by him of Teuton blood into the family of God.

There remained, however, further labours for the English Church on the continent. There were broad lands as yet unreached in the north ; and the most important part of Scandinavian evangelisation was performed by churchmen from England. The earliest apostle of Denmark was Annschar, a young monk of winning manners and pure character, who belonged to the monastery of Corbie in France, and who was sent, after the nominal conversion, by Bishop Ebbo, of the Danish king, in A.D. 826, to Schleswig. In spite of the faithful labours of this holy man, the Danes remained obdurate ; and for all the years during which they harassed England and France they were heathen. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a contemporary record of those wars, and in part the authentic product of Alfred's pen, always speaks of the struggle as between Christ and the pagans. Though Alfred obtained the conversion of Guthrum, one of their chief leaders, and of many of his retainers, himself standing sponsor for them at the font, it was not until Cnut, under the influence of his devoted Saxon Queen, Emma, became a genuine Christian, that the Cross was successfully planted among the Danish folk.

Missionaries from England were sent by her first Danish King to his native land ; and the splendid revenge of the English Church for all those desolating wars and massacres was the completion—two hundred years after the labours of the Frankish Archbishop, and of the Monk of Corbie—of the conversion of Denmark.

Nor did Denmark alone owe its Christianity in chief part to the Church of England. The holy Annschar, driven forth from Denmark in 829, sought, not refuge, but fresh labours and perils in Sweden, where already some seeds of divine truth had been dropped by travelling merchants from England and France. The story of the earliest Swedish missions is of high interest;¹⁸ a bitter struggle between paganism and the Cross was waged for a century ; and the actual conversion of Sweden was chiefly due to English ecclesiastics, among whom, in the first half of the eleventh century, are recorded the names of Sigfried and Grimkel. The first bishopric in West Gothland was filled by an Englishman named Thurget.

With the early story of the Norwegian Church the English missionary is similarly connected. The first man who attempted with any success to plant the Christian standard in Norway was the Danish Prince Hacon, before the middle of the tenth century. He had received his education at the court of our

¹⁸ See Note IX.

King Athelstan ; and, full of zeal, he returned as a young man, to teach his native land the message of salvation. For years it was necessary to hold services and to teach in secret places, and in the dim shade of the pine forests, for which purpose Hacon brought over several priests from England.

The waters of life had risen slowly, for now we have reached the close of a thousand years after the coming of Christ ; but the rising waters have nearly reached the brim, and all the continent of Europe may be said to have at least had the witness borne to its ears that a Saviour reigned and offered eternal life to the penitent and the believer.

Ere the eleventh century closes, and with it the record of the earlier vigour of evangelisation, we have to note one more step taken, as so many before, by missionaries of these islands, to complete the christianising of the lands known to Britain. There is an obscure record of one, Ion, or John, a Saxon or Celtic teacher, who penetrated to the coast of Greenland, probably from Iceland, whither, as we learn from various sources, the Celtic Church of Iona, ever faithful to her trust, had sent missionaries,¹⁹ the traces of whose labours remained when, at a later period, the Norwegian Church resumed the work of evangelisation.

In the year 1059, according to records quoted by Neander, this good man, whose name lives but in

¹⁹ See Note X.

the faint shadow of a great enterprise, laid down his life as a martyr on the shores where, seven hundred years later, the Moravians from Herrnhut endured some of the sharpest trials which have in modern times fallen to the lot of missionaries to endure for their Master's sake.

I have been able to tell of the continuance, down to that late epoch, of a spirit of evangelistic zeal in the hearts of English and Irish Churchmen—it would be too much to speak of it as the spirit of the Churches as a whole. There never was a time when Christian missions awakened the enthusiasm of the majority. It has never been given, save to the minority, to endure hardness for Christ.

But now the dark ages had come, and for five hundred years, with one bright exception, there is a silence of European history as to missionary enterprise. Monasticism, which at an earlier period had done such splendid service in the preservation of the Scriptures, the promoting of learning, the cultivation of the soil, the advancement of science, the preaching of the cross, had generally ceased to be an instrument of good. The Crusades, too, promoted originally in a spirit not wholly unlike that which stimulates the missionary, had ceased to be identified with their earlier and nobler motives, and had indeed, to use the words of Hallam, been 'on the whole pernicious to religion and morality.' The weapons of the Crusaders were, like those of the

Mohammedan, carnal, not spiritual ; and the purpose of the Crusader was the expulsion of the Moslem from the Holy Land, not his conversion. The Crusades had done service, doubtless, in enlarging the intellectual horizon ; but the new lands which they brought into view were already occupied, either by Mohammedanism, or by a torpid Christianity which they made no effort to quicken into life.

It was to the conversion of Mohammedans that the one effort was addressed to which I have just referred as an exception to the generalisation that the Middle Ages furnish no more examples of European effort of a missionary kind. In 1236 was born, in the island of Majorca, of noble blood, a man who was to proclaim and exhibit a truer method than the Crusaders knew, to overthrow the blighting power of Islam. Raymund Lull, after an early life, like that of St. Augustine, given up to sensuality, was converted to Christ's service at the age of thirty. Impressed with a profound conviction that he was called to win back the Holy Land to Christianity, he vainly sought, by means of argumentative and hortatory writings, to awaken the sympathy of the Church for his holy enterprise. Europe admired the scholar, but scorned his appeal. He was a man quite out of harmony with his environment : he had come too early or too late. Rebuffs, however, affected him not. If none would go with him he would go alone. He learned Arabic. He went and

preached to the Saracens. He laboured, he suffered scourgings, imprisonments, poverty, and desertion. Till he was eighty years of age he pursued his holy purpose. For forty years, he says, he tried in vain to awaken the Church to take up the work. In extreme old age he once more crossed the Mediterranean to visit a flock of converts, and to utter in the ears of the Moors one more call to repentance. He was seized, dragged out of the town, and stoned to death. The motto of his most notable work in literature was the motto or inspiration of his life: ‘He who loves not, lives not; he who lives by the Life cannot die.’²⁰

As I draw this introductory Lecture to a close, I must recall to your mind and impress a fact, already referred to, in order to meet the charge, lightly made against the Mediæval Church, that it cared nought for the sacred cause of missions. Weak as we believe the religious life of the monasteries to have become, corrupt as were the morals of the clergy, it is not chiefly to this cause that we are to attribute the long interruption of missionary labour which now ensued. Even in the darkest days the monasteries had sent forth some who were true children of light. The darkness and light had strangely existed side by side alike in the British, the Celtic,

²⁰ It is to be remembered that St. Francis of Assisi also made a half-successful effort at Damietta, in 1219, to preach to the Mohammedans. An account will be found, both of his effort and of Raymund Lull's, in Neander, vol. vii. p. 80 *sqq.*

the Frankish, and the Anglo-Saxon Churches. It is easy to say that from a Church sunk in superstition, and too truly accused of immoralities even among its abbots and its secular clergy, no missionary work could proceed.²¹ Facts refute this inference. The truth is that the Church held her hand because there were no other accessible lands to win. Had the twelfth or fourteenth century possessed the opportunities granted to those which followed them, there might have been a better record of the Church's inner life, as well as of her external activities. Luxury and the amassing of wealth in monasteries, and bitter controversy, and the moral mischiefs which follow idleness and fulness of bread, might often have given place to noble rivalries between different religious houses or different dioceses, in sending teachers for newly discovered heathen beyond the seas. But the Church unconsciously waited for Cabot and Columbus to give a new world to the old; and for Drake, Frobisher, and Gilbert to lead Englishmen triumphantly across a conquered ocean. Various causes were at work to lead to the new awakening of the missionary temper; but the chief of all was, doubtless, the opening up of the colonial empire of England. To that attractive subject I hope to devote the next Lecture of this course.

²¹ See Note XI.

LECTURE II

THE CHURCH IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES

'Let the children first be filled.'—*St. Mark vii. 27.*

WHEN from our island home we look abroad on the many lands in which, by English and Irish hands, the Church has been planted; when we count up the 180 dioceses of the Anglican Communion ²² which lie outside the borders of Great Britain and Ireland, we cannot but be struck by the fact that not one of the American, Colonial, and missionary dioceses of the Church was in existence one hundred and twenty years ago.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were, including the Church in the United States, only nine, and at the accession of Queen Victoria only twenty-nine, Anglican Bishops outside these islands. The fact points to a remarkable extension of the missionary activities of our Church during the last hundred and twenty years. I am to-day to trace for you some of the earlier movements which have led, at this late date in the history of the Church, to so great a development.

²² See Note I.

We saw at the close of the previous Lecture the Church of England gradually relinquishing its missionary activity about the eleventh century; and I asked you to note that it is not correct to attribute this to spiritual causes alone. The waters of Life, not always indeed as pure as abundant, had filled the reservoirs. They could flow no further until new channels were opened, new reservoirs provided to receive their streams. Meanwhile, as the Church unconsciously waited, great things happened. The revival of Greek learning, the invention of printing, the Protestant Reformation, take the lead among these great things. These combined to give England, among other blessings, a Bible and Prayer-book in her own tongue; and these gifts soon resulted in an awakening of a spirit of liberty and of love of truth. A joyous energy was developed, as mental and spiritual freedom was born in England. The English character became more independent, adventurous, practical, religious. The slumber of the Middle Ages was being shaken off—England was ready for some great step forward, and was prepared for new enthusiasms. Meanwhile came the opportunity. The New World beyond the ocean was discovered. The last decade of the fifteenth century witnessed the first landing of Columbus on his Isla Santa, as he first named the American mainland, not knowing that he trod a great continent. The same decade saw Colet, the English apostle of the

New Learning, teaching in Oxford, ‘like one inspired,’ the vital truths of Christianity which he was one of the first of Englishmen to rescue from the meshes of scholasticism. It witnessed the young Luther leaving his school beside his father’s smelting furnaces at Mansfeldt, and taking his first journey to the Franciscan Seminary at Magdeburg. It was then that Caxton was printing his earliest editions of the classics in London, and the Aldine press was set up in Venice. Loyola, founder of the Jesuit Order, was born then, in 1491, a birth to be followed ten years later by that of the world’s greatest missionary, Xavier. It was in the same decade, the last of the fifteenth century, that Vasco de Gama sailed by the Cape to India, and founded the first European settlement in the East. Labrador was at the same time discovered by John Cabot and his sons, who, on St. John’s Day, in the summer of 1497, gave the name of the saint to the future capital of Newfoundland.

A time of great movements had come, of great beginnings—perhaps the most prolific of results of any since the birth of Christ. It was the epoch when More’s imagination pictured the Utopia, and when the enthusiasm of his fellow-countrymen responded with a will. It is to this epoch, and to the years which immediately followed—the earlier part of the sixteenth century—that we must refer the first movements of the modern missionary spirit. But do not let us boast as if either we or the English people or

of the Reformed Church first felt the power of the new spirit. In point of fact, Spain and Portugal, which were the greatest nations then, and which were, of all people, most devoted to the Papacy, and most daring on the sea, led the new movement for Church extension.

Tradition ascribes to Marco Polo a yet earlier mission to China, so far back as A.D. 1275; and Portuguese Franciscans had certainly been making converts in the Canaries in 1476.²³ Although new awakenings of the Church took place nearly simultaneously in the Latin and the English branches, the former, as represented by the Churches of the Peninsula, undoubtedly showed the earliest expansive zeal. Xavier was baptising in Japan in the very year in which the printing-press, at the sign of the 'Sun' in Fleet Street, was giving the first reformed Prayer-book to the English Church. It was still some thirty years before the arrival of Frobisher and of Gilbert, with English missionaries on board their ships, on the American coasts. The intimate relations, yet to be widely illustrated, between colonisation and Church extension, now appeared for the first time. The sixteenth century witnessed the planting, not without great bloodshed, of the colonies of

²³ Abel Rémusat (quoted by Guizot, *Hist. of Civilisation*) describes the relations established by the Crusades between the Mongolians and western nations, and mentions that 'a Franciscan of Naples was Archbishop of Pekin' long before the time of Xavier. (See Gibbons' *Memoirs of the Church in China*, Dublin, 1862).

Spain and Portugal in the West Indies and in South and Central America. And with the expansion of the State went that of the Church ; and the cities of those regions still preserve—as their undulating plains preserve the remains of pre-historic towns—examples of the magnificent buildings erected by the Dominicans in the days of their supremacy.²⁴ Justice compels a word here to vindicate the Spanish Church. It is popularly thought that the sanguinary acts of the Spaniards in the West Indies are to be laid to the charge of religion and of the Church. This is a mistaken impression. True, Cortez, when in Mexico, made efforts, as at Cozumel and Cempoella, to overthrow the idols, being enraged at the cruelties of idolatry. He turned some of the heathen temples into churches in Mexico. But Cortez was restrained from the use of personal violence by his clergy, especially by Father Olmedo. ‘This man,’ writes Prescott, ‘was a true disciple of the school of Las Casas. . . . His heart was unscathed with the fiery fanaticism which sears and hardens whatever it touches. He had come out to the New World as a missionary amongst the heathen, and had shrunk from no sacrifice to promote the welfare of the poor benighted flock to whom he had consecrated his days. If he followed the banner of the warrior it was to mitigate the ferocity of war, and to turn the triumphs of the Cross to good account for the natives themselves by

²⁴ See Note II.

the spiritual labour of conversion.' 'He affords the uncommon example of enthusiasm controlled by reason, a quickened zeal tempered by the mild spirit of toleration.'²⁵

The name of LAS CASAS stands forth in bright colours as the true friend of the unfortunate natives of the West Indies and of Central and South America. Las Casas had been an eye-witness of the revolting cruelties and of the sanguinary massacres inflicted by the settlers on the natives in their pursuit of wealth. He describes the transportation of hundreds of thousands of men from the mainland to Hispaniola and St. John's, to work in the mines, and tells how a sea captain, needing no compass, could trace his way from island to port by the floating bodies of the dead who had been thrown overboard. In a review of the conduct of the conquerors, written at a later date, Las Casas refers the ill-success of the missionaries to the cruelty of the adventurers. 'My earnest desire is that the Indians may know the Creator, and embrace His word, that they may be saved. And I cannot but pity Spain, my native country, because *I am greatly afraid God will utterly destroy it for the enormous crimes committed by the Spaniards on the Indians, and against God, the King, and their neighbour.*'²⁶

Who were the moving spirits in the early

²⁵ Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, i. p. 407.

²⁶ Written at Valentia, 1542.

missions of Rome? The Roman *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, practically a Committee of Cardinals, was not founded till the Popedom of Gregory XVI. in 1622, and it was reserved for a much later date to form the first popular missionary society in the Church of Rome. It was to the kings of Portugal and of Spain, and to the monkish missionaries who went at their bidding, that the christianising of those transatlantic regions, rendered almost impossible by the severities I have described, was due. The awful cruelties of the earlier conquerors, the massacres, the burnings, the tortures inflicted in the quest for gold, have been fully described for us by Las Casas, who was a witness of the shocking wrongs perpetrated by his countrymen; and whose testimony may be relied on, as exculpating both the kings and the authorities of the Church from the guilt of these barbarities.²⁷

The first attempts, then, at planting Christianity in the New World were not those made by Englishmen; but we can point to the presence, in the breasts of our first 'planters,' of some real conviction—which seems also to have affected the authorities of the State—that we owe a duty to the souls not only of our colonists, but of the natives of the countries which we occupy as we spread our borders afar.²⁸

At the close of Elizabeth's reign England had no

²⁷ See Note III.

²⁸ See Note IV.

possessions outside Europe. Schemes of settlement in Virginia there had been, but they had failed.

Raleigh, Grenville, White, made unsuccessful efforts to plant a stable colony on those shores, so full of mysterious attraction, so full of danger from famine and Indian foe. In 1585, and in 1587, Raleigh's ill-fated expeditions were sent forth. Starvation decimated the adventurer's little companies, and Raleigh abandoned in disgust his apparently fruitless ideal ; but ere he severed his connection with Virginia, he gave 100*l.* for the propagation of the Christian religion there, 'the first offering avowedly made by any Englishman,' writes Mr. Anderson in his 'History of the Colonial Church,' 'for such a purpose, and a token of Raleigh's reverence for that truth which shall survive all the changing scenes of life, and of the desire which he felt to advance its power, amidst the excitements and reverses of his own perilous career.'

The faith of these early adventurers is suggested in an old woodcut of Raleigh's vessel at anchor, with the cross at the mast-head, and a clergyman standing at the prow with an open Bible. North Carolina, then called Virginia, was explored by Raleigh, and the first band of colonists included the distinguished scientist and Christian, Thomas Heriot, who, to quote an original letter, 'many times and in every towne . . . made proclamation of the contents of the Bible and of the chiefe parts of religion to the

Indians as he was able.' On August 13, 1587, the first baptism of a native of Virginia, an Indian chief, took place on the island of Roanoak.

On the accession of James I. the enthusiastic spirit of Hakluyt, then Prebendary of Bristol, and the learned chronicler of England's maritime adventures, led to the equipping of yet another expedition from Bristol, once more with the twofold purpose of colonisation and advancing the Christian faith. The reports sent home led James to issue a new charter for the planting of Virginia (1606). The territory, divided between companies from London and Bristol, extended as far north as the 45th parallel of latitude. The charter sets forth emphatically that one object of the colonisation was to promote the worship and the glory of God. Provision was carefully made for Church services for the settlers, and for evangelistic efforts for the natives. Rev. Robert Hunt, an excellent clergyman, accompanied the party. This company arrived at and settled the site of Jamestown, at the mouth of the James River. Discords, sickness, want of food, weakened the colony, which only slowly struggled into security. Smith, the historian of the party, a brave man, was regarded by his fellows with jealousy. His life was saved in a romantic way, when he was carried away by Indians, by the tearful intervention of the chief's young daughter, Pocahuntas, who afterwards became a Christian, married an excellent

Englishman, and died in England, after leading a life of a strikingly romantic kind. Hunt built a church in Jamestown, where daily prayer was held for years.

Such tentative and uncertain beginnings of our Church expansion are quite analogous to the almost accidental way in which we began to colonise : ‘In a fit of absence of mind,’ as some one has said. Let us glance at some of these origins of now flourishing churches in that new world which is now the United States of America.

The English colonies were then confined to the Atlantic coast. They penetrated only a very little way inland. For over a century the Mississippi was never reached. A French explorer, La Salle, had penetrated, on behalf of France, from the Great Lakes to the sources of the Mississippi, and thence to the Gulf of Mexico. These French colonies barred our way westward. France had the command of the two great rivers of the continent, the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. We colonised only on the seaboard as yet, and it appeared for a time that the predominant power in North America was destined to be French, and the predominant religion, Roman Catholic.

But such a destiny for the splendid western world was not to be. In reverent acknowledgment of the great honour done to England and to the churches of the Reformation, we trace on the page

of history the successive steps which gave us not only the ocean fringe, but the western prairie and the northern forest. England's struggle with France was a long one. Its political issues were scarcely greater than its religious.

During the progress of the seventeenth century we were hemmed in between the Mississippi and the ocean; but here we colonised and here we planted the standard of the Cross with varying zeal; and before the close of the century there were forty thousand professing members of the Church of England in Virginia and Maryland. It is impossible to look back on the faithful records handed down to us by Churchmen of the seventeenth century, without a feeling of pain when we read, too clearly, that Church extension did not always mean religious life. The ardour of the first adventurers did not long survive the success of the plantations, and during the course of the century the relations between clergy and settlers tended to become strained, while many an unworthy minister found his way into the ranks of the clergy, still more alienating the confidence of the lay people. There were, however, at the same time, some thoroughly earnest men who made their mark on the Church. The name of Rev. Robert Hunt, who accompanied the expedition of 1606, is associated with the earliest Church, and the earliest celebration of Holy Communion, in the United States of America. Several excellent pastors soon followed,

of whom the names are preserved of some whose record is on high, but who were veritably martyrs to the cause of Christ. There were laymen, too, with hearts kindled by Divine love, whose zeal cannot be forgotten. Lord De la Warr, one of the first Governors of King James's Colony, entered on his office, in 1610, by kneeling in silent prayer upon the strand, and then passing to the newly built church of Jamestown publicly to honour God, and commit his enterprise to His care. De la Warr had been chosen for conspicuous ability. His personal piety taught him that all our doings without God are vain. His earliest acts were to make due provision for public worship and for the preaching of the Gospel; and we have a minute description, given by Strachey, the author of an important narrative of these early days, of his ordering of the church at Jamestown, which had 'pewes of cedar, and faire broade windowes of the same, a font hewen hollow like a canoe, and two bells at the west end. The church is very light within, and the Lord Governor doth cause it to be kept passing sweete and trimmed up with divers flowers, and in it every Sundaie wee have sermons twice a day, and every Thursday a sermon, and every morning at the ringing of the bell at ten o'clocke, each man addresseth himselfe to praiers, and so at four of the clocke before supper.'²⁹

²⁹ Quoted by Anderson, *History of the Colonial Church*, i. 216, 217.

Sir Thomas Day, successor to De la Warr, 'regarded the discharge of the Governor's office as part of the fulfilment of his baptismal vow ;' and his rule was guided by a constant sense of responsibility to God.

The name of Nicholas Ferrar, one of the most devoted of the English clergy in the reign of Charles I., is associated with the spiritual interests of the Colony. As a layman he had been Deputy-Governor of Virginia, and though he served the Colony on entering Parliament, chiefly as a member of the Council at home, his lofty tone and piety animated many of her laity and clergy even before he himself received sacred orders in the Church.

The clergy of Virginia, during the seventeenth century, numbered among their ranks several men of high devotion ; but it is too certain that many hirelings, who were no true shepherds, occupied the parishes which had not become derelict.³⁰ At the close of the century, though there were over 40,000 churchpeople in the two principal colonies, the tone of religion was deeply to be deplored. Of the more northerly colonies, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania,³¹ still less can be said that is favourable. New York,³² originally Dutch, became ours at the close of the war with Holland in 1664, but the Church made scarcely any progress there before 1700.

³⁰ See Note V.

³¹ See Note VI.

³² See Note VII.

The New England colonies³³ had been settled and were almost wholly ministered to by Non-conformists, the Pilgrim Fathers, who had sought there that ‘freedom to worship God’ which they afterwards generally denied to all who would not worship in their own way. Religious liberty in New England was a plant of slow growth; but it was unconsciously watered at an early date by a spontaneous act of the settlers, which redounds to their eternal honour. While the colony of Massachusetts consisted still of only a few huts on the shore at Salem, held by a precarious tenure; while food and shelter could only be secured by arduous toil; while the Indian foe was for ever watching his opportunity to descend to attack: at this very time, which would seem of all most unlikely to be fruitful in such projects, the General Council of the infant Colony appropriated 400*l.*—a very considerable sum in those days—to establish a College in the village of Newtown, near Boston, which they renamed Cambridge in memory of the English University. A Nonconformist minister, John Harvard, left by his will, very shortly afterwards, all his property to the College; and so was founded, and called by Harvard’s name, that great Institution in New England which, beyond all other agencies, has fostered the growth of a spirit of liberty little akin to the temper of the early colonists.

³³ See Note VIII.

The Massachusetts colonists demand our respect for yet another early act which must be set down to their credit. The Charter of the emigrants had declared that the principal end of their plantation was the winning of the native Indians to the Christian faith. They had not landed many hours before, drawing up a covenant, they inserted in it words binding them to seek to promote the good of the Indian population. Moreover, the design of the seal of the Colony was an Indian with a label proceeding from his mouth bearing the words, 'Come over and help us.' Unhappily, the hostility of the Indian, and the land jealousies which soon sprang up, hindered the enterprise thus theoretically set on foot; and it was reserved to the spirit of John Eliot to make the first actual attempt to win the tribes to Christianity. It ought to be recorded that this aim of the first colonists, and this practical enterprise of the Apostle of the Indians, received no small stimulus from a Bishop of our own Church, whose friendship with the remarkable Hugh Peters, one of the Puritan divines at the time of the first settlement, proves that the bitterness attributed to the two religious parties of that time of trouble was not always so stern as is thought.

Bishop Lake, of Bath and Wells, is said by Peters (in a letter to his daughter) to have been one of those who stirred up the Massachusetts colonists to make the evangelisation of the heathen a leading aim

of their plantation.³⁴ The labours of Eliot may have been, more than we know, stimulated by the counsels of the good English Bishop. His spirit and his words (quoted in Note) are worthy of record, as anticipating, by many years, the zeal of the founders of the great Missionary Societies, and furnishing, from the early part of the seventeenth century, a forecast of the conviction which is being pressed on the Church's conscience at the opening of the twentieth, that the work of missions and the evangelisation of the heathen is the chief duty of the Church of Christ.

I have thought it fitting to place on record these pleasing facts concerning the New England Colony and the Nonconformist settlements, for attention is commonly directed exclusively to the intolerance which undoubtedly prevailed.

Our purpose is, however, to trace the fortunes of our own communion in the seaboard colonies.

The seventeenth century, as it regards the progress of the Church, was one, as we have seen, of but feeble beginnings. The day had not yet even begun to dawn when, from north to south, a new and vigorous life was to be breathed into the Church of the American colonies by the early labours of the great Missionary Society, to which the American Church is not slow to attribute the foundation of all that is best in her spiritual life.

³⁴ See Note IX.

The spiritual condition of these colonies at the epoch of the founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has been preserved for us in an original memorial still in the archives of the Society. In brief, it appears from this report from the Colonial Governors, that, in some settlements, the churchpeople were without clergy, in others the clergy were inefficient, while in Virginia half the churches were without ministers, and in all—from Carolina to Massachusetts—only an almost infinitesimal proportion of the people attended a place of worship. As, for instance, in New York, there were 450 communicants out of 30,000 souls; in Pennsylvania, 700 went to church out of 20,000; in Rhode Island, 90,000 settlers furnished but 270 church-goers.

It was in this crisis that the birth took place of the Society whose two hundredth year of labour is this year celebrated, and to which I must devote the remaining portion of this Lecture. No sooner had it begun to send out its earliest and deeply earnest missionaries—Rev. George Keith, first of all, as evangelist for a vast field 800 miles in length—than a better day began to dawn; and from that time to this the history of the American Church, though she was sadly hindered in her development by the long delay in providing for her any episcopal supervision, is one of continual progress, in spite of the terrible crisis—felt by none

more than the loyal Church clergy—of the war of American Independence.

Rev. George Keith's name must ever be had in remembrance in connection with the revival of religion in America in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Originally a Presbyterian, then a Quaker, he settled in Pennsylvania, and, later, became through profound conviction an earnest Churchman. He was ordained in England in 1700, and, in company with Rev. P. Gordon, was sent out by the S.P.G. as the first missionary of the Society. His object was generally to inquire into and report on the state of religion in the colonies. He spent two years itinerating, and everywhere stirred up a generous enthusiasm in a district 800 miles in extent, from North to South. Keith reported : ‘There is a mighty cry and desire to have ministers of the Church of England sent to them in these northern parts of America. If they come not timely, the whole country will be overrun with Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and Quakers.’ Keith's companion wrote : ‘The poor Church has no one on the spot to confirm or comfort her children, nobody to ordain several that are willing to serve. Therefore they fall back into the hands of dissenters. . . .’

It is proper that we should remember from how small and weak beginnings the now flourishing Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States has sprung. The turning-point in the history of

that Church was undoubtedly the year 1701, when the Society entered on that, its first field. And for this reason I feel that I should relate in brief, as of most material concern in the development of the Church in Greater Britain, something of the story of the Society's origin. It was, in great measure, the spiritual destitution of the American colonies which furnished the occasion and the impetus required.

But, first, of one or two preliminary steps which had been taken, and which deserve to be remembered.

The Apostle of the North-American Red-men, Rev. John Eliot, whom I have already named, one of the most devoted of missionaries, laboured from 1646 till 1690 among the natives in the New England forests, and wrote such earnest pleas home to England, telling of the spiritual wants of the tribes, that the Long Parliament, in 1649, established a corporation for advancing religion among them. The name given by Cromwell's Parliament was *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England*. A general collection was ordered throughout England, which produced 12,000*l.*, and this money was invested in lands which now bring in 3,500*l.* a year. This corporation, dissolved at the Restoration, was revived under a different name by Charles II., and is now known as 'The New England Company.' A great Irishman, Hon. Robert Boyle,

was the first Governor of the new Society. The name of Boyle is associated with the first printing of the Bible in Irish ; and a manuscript correspondence, between him and some of the Irish prelates of the day, is to be seen in Marsh's Library in Dublin, which bears witness to the great difficulties accompanying the undertaking. But a few years before, he had, as a Governor of the East India Company, caused the Gospels in Malay to be printed at his own cost. He aided Eliot in the printing of the Scriptures for the New England tribes. His name is perpetuated in the title of the Boyle Lecture for the Defence of the Faith, founded by him, and still doing good service for Christian truth.

About that time, a number of infamous and atheistic clubs or societies had sprung up in England. Their rise marks the evil reaction from the fanatical Puritanism of the Commonwealth. To counteract the evil, some earnest Churchmen set themselves to organise religious clubs, for the better observance of the Lord's Day, the promotion of weekly celebration of the Holy Communion, of preparatory lectures for communicants, and the like spiritual purposes. Such clubs soon numbered forty-two in London alone. They were the first examples of the 'Religious Societies,' to which nearly all the missionary and philanthropic work of the Church and of Protestant Nonconformity is now committed. These clubs soon began to exercise a most salutary

influence in the Church.³⁵ In the year 1696, Dr. Thomas Bray, rector of Sheldon, and a prominent member of one of these new societies, was appointed by the Bishop of London his Commissary for Maryland ; for, in those days, nearly a century before the beginning of the American episcopate, it was thus that some small degree of episcopal supervision was exercised over our Church colonists and their clergy. Dr. Bray took up his duties with enthusiasm. At once he began to send out clergymen to Maryland ; collected funds to supply them with libraries ; applied, without success, for a Parliamentary grant for that purpose ; and, failing, originated a society for the Church of England which has proved one of her chief blessings, and of which the sacred work increases in value and extent year by year. Dr. Bray was, in fact, father of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which received its charter of incorporation in 1698, and which, little realising its future wide sphere of operations, declared itself to be formed for the '*Fixing of Parochial Libraries throughout the Plantations.*' Dr. Bray, having sold his effects to raise the necessary funds for his enterprise, faced the manifold dangers which then attended a long sea voyage, and left for America in mid-winter, 1698.

All that he saw when there³⁶ of the poverty, the weakness, the narrow limits, the spiritual deadness

³⁵ See Note X.

³⁶ See Note XI.

of the Church in the American colonies, stirred the spirit of this good man; and it was mainly as a result of his vigorous urging that Convocation, the Primate, and the S.P.C.K. formed a Committee which, after certain preliminaries, obtained a charter for the incorporation of a directly missionary society, to send living agents, as the Christian Knowledge Society sent its books, to promote the cause of the Gospel in the plantations beyond the sea. The dropped title of Cromwell's Society was adopted. The English name given was the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.' This represented in an improved form the Latin title, 'Societas de *Promovendo Evangelio in Partibus Transmarinis.*' It was a step taken, in faith and love, at a period when our colonial possessions were as yet very far from giving promise of colonial empire. We possessed none but the seaboard fringe of colonies in America. Not an acre of land was ours in Canada, if we except the recently acquired territory of the Hudson's Bay Company; and, so far as is known, there was not settled in that great country one member of the Church of England, except a few fur hunters. The Church of the United States now numbers about 700,000 communicants, and is ministered to by 4,878 clergy, and occupies eighty-three dioceses.³⁷ The society

³⁷ See Official Statistics of the P. E. Church in the United States. *Church of England Year Book*, 1900, p. 386.

thus formed aimed from the first to be missionary to the heathen, as well as pastoral towards the colonist ; and Archbishop Secker was able, in a sermon preached in 1741, to say, ‘ In less than forty years great multitudes of negroes and Indians have been brought over to the Christian faith.’³⁸

The Propagation Society gave the first strong living impulse to the American Church. Seventy years of devoted labour built up, from the small beginning of 1701, a Church which had been served by three hundred and thirty-seven S.P.G. missionaries, and was still ministered to by eighty clergy employed by that Society, besides many supported by their congregations, when the War of Independence broke out.

Of the history of these seventy years it is impossible here to speak. Within that period lies the interesting episode of Bishop Berkeley’s scheme—wrecked by the political perfidy of a great minister of the Crown—for raising up, in a college in Bermuda, a training-place for ministers and missionaries for the varied people of the American colonies.³⁹ Seventy

³⁸ See Note XII.

³⁹ The story of Bishop Berkeley’s devotion, and of his bitter ill-treatment, has been told by Mr. Fraser in his *Life and Works*. The salient facts have been brought out in an attractive manner by Rev. H. Vere White in his pamphlet *Berkeley as a Missionary*, published in Dublin last year. I prefer giving merely this reference to spoiling by condensation the truly striking story of self-sacrifice and high purpose of that great Irish philosopher and earnest-souled divine.

years passed by, and then came the crisis. The War of Independence scoured the Colonies. Many then suffered the loss of all things. There was much bitterness on both sides—bitterness which, by common consent, is not much spoken of now. Most of the S.P.G. missionaries had to leave their parishes, and escape to Canada. The Methodist preachers and ministers were similarly tried. A few threw in their lot with the new order. Peace was proclaimed in 1783, and almost immediately followed a step which had been urgently sought, for much over a century, by earnest men in the Church at home and abroad. Archbishop Laud had, 150 years before, almost carried to completion a plan for providing a Bishop for Virginia. Archbishop Tenison, in 1715, bequeathed to the S.P.G. 1,000*l.* towards the settlement of two bishoprics, one for the continent, and one for the West Indian Islands. But various troubles, political and sectarian, had neutralised the efforts of these and other good men.

The S.P.G. took up the matter warmly from the first, but the political Dissenters succeeded in paralysing its hands. Those who persuaded the authorities in Church and State to refuse the urgent plea that an Episcopal Church should have bishops, on the pretence that it would thus be unduly strengthened, effected their purpose of weakening the Church, which, had it been provided with bishops fifty years sooner, would now certainly hold the chief place

as regards numbers and influence among the Churches of the American Union.

As is well known, it was at last the friendly hands of the Scottish Church which—in the person of Dr. Samuel Seabury, consecrated November 14, 1784, in Aberdeen—gave the episcopate to the Church in America. It was in the year after the proclamation of peace, and the close of the American War of Independence. The Church, sadly weakened by the exodus of many of the best of her clergy to the provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec, made a quick rally under the new system, and daily grew in strength. In 1787, Drs. White and Provoost were consecrated, at Lambeth, for Pennsylvania and New York, and, three years later, Dr. Madison was consecrated, at the same place, for Virginia. The episcopate is now represented by over eighty-five bishops, with either settled or missionary jurisdiction. Its Church contributions amount to \$13,500,000 a year. Its missions, some of them led by bishops, have been sent to Japan, Africa, China, the Sandwich Islands, and Brazil.⁴⁰

Before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel retired from its first field of operations, and handed over the support of clergy and missionaries to the Church in the United States, it had spent a quarter of a million of money on building up that Church. The service so rendered has been always

⁴⁰ See Note XIII.

heartily acknowledged by the American Church. Its Prayer-book owns in the preface the sacred obligation. And at the centenary of the episcopate, in 1884, a message was sent to the President of the S.P.G. which contained the words :

‘At the close of the first century of our existence as a national Church, we acknowledge with deep and unfeigned gratitude that whatever this Church has been in the past, is now, or will be in the future, is largely due, under God, to the long-continued nursing care and protection of the Venerable Society. We cannot forget that if the Church of England has become the mother of Churches, the generous and unwearied efforts [of the Society] have been chiefly instrumental in producing these wonderful results.’

It is surely not unfitting that, in connection with the fourth jubilee of the Society, attention should be called prominently to the fact that, for almost a hundred years ere the declaration of national independence, the spiritual life of the emigrants from our shores—in the cities, on the plains, among the forests of the west—was being nurtured by the devoted agents of the Society, and an organised Church was being built up. Moreover, the Indian was being led to know a Saviour by the S.P.G. missionaries, and many hundreds had been baptised, before the days of the second great birth of missionary societies, which devote themselves more particularly to the conversion of the heathen. The Missionary Roll of the S.P.G.,

1701-1702, occupies seventy-six closely printed pages of the Society's 'Digest of Records,' and numbers more than 4,200 names.⁴¹

As we pass from the study of the planting and growth of the Church in a country which, if no longer part of our colonial empire, must surely hold a high place in the sympathies of Englishmen and English Churchmen, we may remember with thankfulness that one of the most binding and lasting ties between the branches of the great Anglo-Saxon race in the United States and the mother country is the tie of a common faith; and that among all the agencies which have bound us by that tie, none takes a higher position than that missionary organisation which I have brought before you to-day. Its labours will meet us again and again as we trace, in other Lectures of this course, the expansion of the Church in different parts of our world-wide colonial empire.

⁴¹ See Note XIV.

LECTURE III

THE CHURCH IN CANADA

'Thou shalt spread forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall possess the nations.'—*Isaiah* liv. 3.

IT is of the planting and the growth of the Canadian Church that I am to speak to you to-day, in the course of Lectures on 'The Church in Greater Britain.'

The history of Canada is very modern. The settlements of England on the seaboard of the United States had some of them an age of a hundred or a hundred and fifty years ere the territories of Canada came into our possession. While England was colonising the Atlantic coast, from South Carolina to Maine, France held undisputed sway in Canada.

Old Canada was taken possession of by France in 1535. It had been discovered by John Cabot in 1497. Jacques Cartier, a native of St. Malo, sailing through the Strait of Belle Isle and past Newfoundland, on July 1, 1535, entered a large bay, which, on account of the extreme heat of the day, he named Baie de Chaleurs. Landing at the rocky headland of Gaspé, Cartier erected a wooden cross

inscribed with the lily of France, and formally took possession of the new land in the name of his master, Francis I. The following year he returned to Canada with three vessels equipped by the King, and boldly navigated the mighty St. Lawrence until he reached the river now known as the St. Charles, and under the rocky promontory which was later to be crowned by the city of Quebec, found the Indian village of Stadacona. He was met in a friendly manner by the Algonquin chiefs. Cartier pushed on rapidly to the foot of the tremendous rapids of Lachine, where, nestling below the height, to which he gave the name of Mont Royal, was discovered the Indian settlement of Hochelaga. Here, later on, was to rise the city of Montreal. The winter caused the party great sufferings. The remnant returned to France in the spring, after performing a forcible baptism of ten of the chiefs, who were conveyed against their will to France. Another voyage of Cartier, in connection with Roberval, for the purpose of colonisation, proved unsuccessful, and fifty years later several other attempts all ended in disaster.⁴²

But France made good her hold on Canada ; and a French population still occupies the wide lower province of Quebec, where the traveller to-day reads the advertisements on the walls and hoardings in both French and English, and French is the

⁴² See Note I.

language of the courts of justice. The villages might be villages in old France, where the peaceful curé in his soutane and broad-brimmed hat is seen sauntering, breviary in hand, among his bee-haunted sunflowers, and letting the distant world go its own way, as no concern of his.

Nova Scotia, our earliest possession in Canada, came into our hands by the Treaty of Utrecht; the rest of the great Dominion (exclusive of the Hudson's Bay Company's distant hunting-grounds) after the taking of Quebec and the Peace of Paris, exactly fifty years after.

There, at our disposal, lay the mysterious wilderness, untamed by man, and covered with forest. There stretched to unknown distances the pathless wilds, where the hemlock and the spruce lived out their days in sunshine and in snow, the lichen-draped fathers of the forest sheltering two or three younger generations ere they fell and crumbled to dust; and by the rivers the maples burned themselves away in orange and crimson. There arose the eternal roar of the great Falls, which, for countless ages, had hurled over their hollowed sandstone cliffs the waters of inland seas on which no white sail moved, seas flashing in summer sunshine, or, in winter, now reflecting the many-hued auroras, now lashed into fury by the tempests of the north. The tortuous courses of rocky rivers cut through the forest, with their dangerous portages, up which

none but the hardy Redman bore his bark canoe, save when the equally resolute Jesuit missionary followed him westward to speak of God to his soul.

‘It is impossible to deny to the French Jesuit missionaries in Canada, throughout the whole of the seventeenth century, the exercise of an ardent self-sacrificing faith in laying the first foundations of Christian religion. They were introduced to that country under the French Governor Champlain, and the briefest glance at their proceedings fills the mind with awe and wonder. Theirs were the churches, hospitals, and colleges of Quebec; theirs the glory of penetrating the pathless forests, of traversing lake and river, of enduring hunger, and cold, and nakedness, of braving death itself in its most frightful form, if only they might bring the children of the howling wilderness to the knowledge and service of Jesus Christ. Sometimes lost amid the trackless snow or forest, at other times hurried in his light canoe down some fearful rapid, the Jesuit missioner perished, and was heard of no more. Of some the tidings came home that they had met with a death more terrible even than this, having been tortured with every art of savage cruelty: burnt, scalped, or mutilated in every limb with axes and tomahawks. Yet none quailed or faltered. New men instantly pressed on with bold and cheerful heart to fill the places of the fallen: and again the intrepid soldiers of the Cross went for-

ward. As we read the pages which record these labours and sufferings, and mark the steadfastness of the faith which animated the hearts of Goupin, and Jaques and Lallemand and Brebeuf in their martyrdom, or the strength of that heroic perseverance which sustained Allouez and Dablon and Marquette in their perilous wanderings, we feel that we should violate the truth, and stifle those purest emotions of the heart in which truth rejoices, did we either altogether withhold, or only with reluctant spirit acknowledge, the praise which is their due.^{43 44}

To these early settlers and pioneer missionaries all Canada was forest land; the secrets of the splendid west had not been revealed. The fur-trader had, indeed, since the charter of Charles II., reached the north-west by the Hudson's Bay during the short season when it was unfrozen, and he followed the chase, and defended his life in his stockaded fort, but never turned the sod or settled on the land. Between east and west there was no channel of communication.

And how has the country come now to have a population of over five millions, and to be open by rail from ocean to ocean, the great Canadian Pacific road with its 3,670 miles of steel, all within British territory? The colonisation of Canada is due to both repulsions and attractions. In its earliest step

⁴³ Anderson, *Hist. Col.* Ch. iii. p. 290.

⁴⁴ See Note II.

there appears something providential indeed. How came it, save by the beneficent purpose of God, that at the same time—at the close of the American war—the loyalists of the revolted colonies had the safe refuge of a fruitful, unoccupied land close by, ready to welcome them, and the new possession of England was provided with a population, loyal, civilised, hardy, skilled with axe and plough, and competent to bring the new lands into cultivation? Great numbers of loyalists were driven within a few years, by losses and trials which we are now ready to forget, to cross the border from New England, and settle in Nova Scotia and Quebec. By 1806 Canada and Nova Scotia had received not less than 80,000 of such immigrants. Those who had abandoned their homes, from loyalty to Great Britain during the course of the war, were allotted special grants of land, and were distinguished by the letters U.E. ('United Empire' loyalists), a badge of honour then, and afterwards, highly prized by its recipients.⁴⁵ The early colonisation was also largely aided by the disbanding of several colonial regiments, which supplied the province of Upper Canada with its first settlers. They were, however, only in small proportion members of the Church of England. In 1792, the Hon. R. Cartwright said that 'in all Upper Canada there are not a hundred families who have been educated in the Church of England.' Many of the

⁴⁵ See Woodward, *Expansion of the British Empire*, p. 252.

settlers who came in the first decades of the century were absorbed by Methodism, which preceded the Church here, and not here alone.

If in this first period of colonisation the repellent force which sent men northward was the expulsion of loyalists from the newly constituted States, another began to develop within a few years in the old country. The agricultural distress which followed the close of the Napoleonic wars led in England to general misery, and to a great wave of emigration to Canada. The famine in Ireland, in 1847, was but the culmination of a number of troubles arising from over-population, lowered prices, and other causes, which were generally felt throughout the three kingdoms. A steady flow of population towards Canada went on for many years,⁴⁶ and in the year 1847, 92,000 persons from England and Ireland arrived at Quebec. In that year 5,000 died of famine and ship-fever in Grosse-isle in the St. Lawrence alone. Then, too, the fisheries of the old world were overworked, or the shoals had moved to other seas ; there was destitution among fisherfolk in England and France, and a stream of these hardy men was directed towards the cod-banks of Newfoundland, and that storm-swept island received its population.

And then Canada offered such attractions to the early settler ! Happily the gold-fever was not

⁴⁶ See Note III.

among them. Not until so late a period as 1858, when gold discoveries brought 50,000 adventurers to British Columbia, and led to the settling of that colony, and till the more recent discovery of the wealth of the Klondyke, did gold enter into competition with agriculture to attract inhabitants to the wide wastes of Canada. The attraction of the land was powerful enough for those who were brave to face the struggle with the virgin forest, out of which they must carve their farms. But the land was free to those early comers ; and there was always the free life, the wholesome, bracing air, the absence of the cramped existence of old-world towns or highly rented country holdings, burdened with taxes. Special attractions were also offered to others besides the farming class during the early period of colonisation. Three great canals, the Welland, Lachine, and Rideau, were to be dug, and there were two long lines of rail to be laid—the Intercolonial and the Grand Trunk—and the Irish navvy was largely employed ; and when the Rideau canal was finished, all the Irishmen were given grants of land along its banks, and the descendants of these men now form the prosperous, loyal, Roman Catholic population of Carlton County, bordering on the city of Ottawa.

Away westward, as far as Detroit and Sarnia, the like settlement of the canal and railway labourer was effected, and thus engineering rivalled agriculture in

giving its stalwart sons to build up a manly people in the Dominion.

And when, later, the western prairies were opened to settlement, on the surrender of the Hudson's Bay Company's charter, and the suppression of the insurrection of Riel, a second grand influx of population began, about 1870, to take possession of the fertile belt of Manitoba, and provide at once a new wheatfield for the old world's supply and a new and spacious home for its congested population.

GROWTH OF THE CHURCH

And for the Church in Canada, I am perplexed by the immense store of details available, when I try to present some sketch of its growth and condition.

The earliest stage of this advance was the provision, by a paternal Government, in Nova Scotia, of lands and stipends for clergy and school-masters, both for English and French settlers and for the Indian natives. Those were still times in which the national conscience could not be satisfied without a public recognition of the claims of God on the service of the State, and in which the Church of England was fully supported by the authorities, and privileged as the recognised organisation for the maintenance of religion at home and abroad.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ See *S.P.G. Digest of Missionary Records*, p. 108.

In 1749, the English Government settled six townships in Nova Scotia, and the S.P.G. was specially notified of the intention of Government to allocate or 'reserve' 400 acres of land for the support of the ministry in each, and 200 for schools. 'The Lords Commissioners for Trades and Plantations inform the Society that all the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, except the garrison of the town of Annapolis on the Bay of Fundy, are French Roman Catholics; and they suggest that attempts should be made to convert them to the Protestant religion.' It was only six years later that the expulsion of the Acadians took place, and a fresh population, of which a large proportion consisted of English Dissenters, took their place. This accounts for the large Baptist predominance of the present day in that colony.

In August, 1787, Canada received the episcopate, in the person of the Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, a Missionary of the Propagation Society, and the first Colonial Bishop of the Church. Born in a remote parish in the west of Ireland, Charles Inglis had come to New York in early life, and in due course had become rector of Trinity Church, whence, at the time of the struggle for independence, he had been driven, because of his refusal to omit the prayers for the king from the liturgy. The unhappy policy of leaving the Church without bishops, which had proved disastrous in the older colonies,

was not repeated in Canada, and in the person of Dr. Inglis was laid the foundation of an episcopate which now occupies twenty-three Canadian sees. Inglis's original diocese was of limitless extent. It comprised Newfoundland and Bermuda, as well as the whole of Canada, known and unknown. Happily he was a man of cheerful and hopeful temperament : one of those men who do not let their hearts be cast down and their hands paralysed by difficulties which have not been produced by their own negligence. He set himself, well knowing that he could not do all things, to do whatsoever he could ; and, quite unable to survey the whole of his enormous charge, he laid himself out to build up the Church in Nova Scotia on strong foundations. He also succeeded in having the diocese divided, the see of Quebec being separated in 1793. Newfoundland was not placed under a bishop of its own until fifty years later. The Nova Scotia episcopate was well maintained in the person of Bishop Inglis's son, in whose time much spiritual religion was infused into the well organised system, and the external and internal life of the Church mutually supported each other. And then followed the strong episcopate of Bishop Binney, an episcopate marked by Church development, and the formation, in the face of much opposition, of synodical organisation for the Church in Nova Scotia.

This brief account of the Canadian Church

forbids exact details of the growth of the episcopate. It forbids also all attempt to draw vivid pictures of the nature of clerical work and of Church life in the wide Dominion. You will have little difficulty in imagining the struggles of the clergy in ministering to settlements in clearings in the forest, when men were poor, and distances were unbridged as yet by the iron ways. Many a missionary has, in Canada, in the early days, passed his time visiting a flock whose lonely farmsteads were to be reached only by passing through dense pine-woods infested by wolves. Many a time he lost his way, and lay down and slept in the forest. Many a time he might be found carrying relief to settlers threatened with starvation in time of snow. Many a time his heart was cheered by finding himself heartily welcomed to the stove and the board of a settler, who, since he came to the country, had never seen the face of a Church clergyman, and who offered himself, and his children, and, in a few cases, one or both of his parents also, to be baptised during the visit. Bishops in the early days, and in later times in such settlements as the Church has made in Algoma and the border colonies, have had to make their visitations with no more state than is afforded by the birch-bark canoe battling with the rapids, or carried over the portages, the camp fire reddening the under branches of the pine, the guidance of the half-breed through tracks where the Englishman had not yet

come. One Bishop of Ontario at least has almost lost his life in a long solitary sleigh ride through the intolerable cold. But in ways like these it has come to pass that all over the great regions of the west the Church has gained its solid influence. Not without rivalry of other religious bodies. The energy of Methodist and of Presbyterian has often put the Church to shame, nor are her numbers even now equal to theirs. But no more faithful labours have been done for the heathen Indian tribes than those of the Church of England, from the days when Stuart and Doty ministered to the natives of old Canada, at the opening of the century, to those of the C.M.S. and S.P.G. missionaries of to-day in the great North-West.

To what influences are we to attribute the Church expansion, which, while it might surely have been greater, has been great? It is only of very late years, and in specially favoured districts, that there has been found in the country itself adequate sources of Church support or of Church extension. The Church has grown under the fostering care and by the generous aid of *Societies* directed from the home country. To these, to its *internal organisation*, and to the splendid *individuality of some of its leaders*, is the present strength of the Church in the Dominion due.

And first among the Societies supported by the zeal of churchmen at home, must, as a matter

of undisputed fact, be placed the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.*

This great Missionary Society has employed, during the years of its fostering care of this, the oldest colonial branch of the Church, no less than 1,450 ordained clergy in Canada and Newfoundland.⁴⁸ To win souls for Christ, and to build up a living Church of these, has been the aim of the Society from its first days, two hundred years ago. The expenditure in the Canadian colonies alone, down to last year, amounted to almost exactly two millions of our money. When its labours began in Nova Scotia, the Church members in the garrison town of Annapolis formed, if we except the military in Quebec and Montreal and a few families brought there in connection with them, the entire Church population of Canada. Now there are about 750,000 churchpeople in the land, and their numbers are ever increasing. The Society has warmly aided in the work of the subdivision of dioceses, and in the building and endowment of schools, colleges, and churches. Its policy has been to strongly aid those who cannot support their own ministers wholly, to train the people by degrees to self-support, and, when the Church has become equal to the strain, gradually to lessen, and in the end remove, its grants, in order to begin the same beneficent work in other colonial dioceses. No words can exaggerate

⁴⁸ See Note IV.

the service to the Canadian Church performed by the faithful labourers employed for nearly one hundred and forty years in this field. Under the influence of the Society the Church did much to bind the new country and the old in close union.

It is given to the Church of England, beyond either Rome or Nonconformity, at once to minister to the soul of the colonist, and also to rivet, in the best of bonds, his affections to the old land of his fathers. The Canadian churchman has often strong passions. His feelings for or against particular points of doctrine and ritual are fervidly held and openly expressed; so much so, as at times to make the proceedings of Synods animated, and sometimes to produce warm party feelings outside the Synod Halls. But wherever he is found, from Halifax to Vancouver, he is a loyal son of the empire and of the Church, and it is not claiming too much for the Society, which has for so long been fostering loyalty and Church feeling, that it has been one of the chief factors which have made the Canadian Church what it is, and have rendered possible that demonstration of loyalty to country and Church which was exhibited lately in the cathedral of Quebec, when, at the departure of the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Canadian Regiment for South Africa, eight hundred of the men assembled to seek God's blessing on their enterprise, and three hundred young and stalwart Canadian

churchmen knelt together at the Holy Table of our Lord.

Side by side with the labours of the Venerable Society have gone those of its elder sister, or perhaps one should say, its spiritual mother, the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*. Whenever a new diocese calls for an endowment, a new school or college, church or cathedral, for a grant in aid of building or support; whenever a parish needs a library, or a lonely clergyman in the backwoods an addition to his limited shelf of theological books, or a school a parcel of prize books; whenever an emigrant to Canada is to be encouraged by a word of friendly counsel as he leaves Liverpool, or ministered to on the voyage, or pointed to a Church home on landing, or counselled for good as he starts on his up-country journey, there the S.P.C.K. is at hand to speak the good word, to do the kind deed. In the year 1899, an average year, it gave over 3,000*l.* to sixteen Canadian dioceses in grants for schools and churches, besides placing gifts of books in nearly a hundred different parishes, and attending, in the ways I have named, to the wants of many hundreds of emigrants.⁴⁹

Closely identified with the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. in their beneficent exercise of their trust towards the Canadian Church, must be named the *Colonial Bishoprics Fund*, which, aided largely by those societies, and supported by subscriptions directly

⁴⁹ See Note V.

given, has expended large sums in the endowment of Canadian Sees. From the Jubilee Report (1891) of the Fund, it appears that, in Canada alone, sixteen Sees have owed their establishment in great measure to its action.

To take an example. The province of British Columbia, extending for over 1,200 miles, and washed both by the Pacific and Arctic Oceans, received its earliest English settlers when the rush for gold began in 1858. In a few weeks 50,000 gold-diggers had reached the country. The territory, with its adjacent lands, was made a British colony. Here was the opportunity of the Church. And the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, receiving for the purpose a noble gift from Miss Burdett-Coutts, promptly constituted British Columbia a diocese, and endowed it with 15,000*l.* This great diocese has since been divided into three—Vancouver's Island retaining the title of Columbia, while New Westminster, on the mainland, covers an enormous territory of forest, mountain, and river, and swarms with Indian tribes ; and the diocese of Caledonia stretches far to the north until it meets the borders of Selkirk, one of the most recently constituted out of the original province of Rupertsland. The work of the Church in these dioceses is inadequately supported ; and but for the steadfast loyalty to the Colonial Church of the three societies named, the condition of the Church in British Columbia would, in many places, be feeble indeed.

It is only just, before passing to the work of the Church Missionary Society to the Indian tribes of the North-West, to say a word of honour for the less prominent labours of the Colonial and Continental Church Society, which has long given valuable help to the Church in Canada, and has done a fine educational work in Newfoundland. The only ministrations of the Church of England to the miners of Klondyke in the year 1899 were given by agents of this Society, and the Bishop of Selkirk has spoken in warm approbation of their faithfulness.⁵⁰ The Rev. W. G. Lyon, sent out by the S.P.G. in 1897 to Klondyke, was unhappily drowned in crossing a dangerous lake on his up-country journey.

I have kept to the last, in this record of the work of Church Societies, the remarkable labours of the *Church Missionary Society*. I know of no other of its efforts in its world-wide field which have called forth greater self-sacrifice, or which have been crowned with more marked success. By its labours tribe after tribe of the Red Indians of the north, and many of the Esquimos, have been led to the knowledge of Christ's Gospel, and united to Christ's Church, and that, in very many cases, not merely formally nor for any earthly gain or advantage. Spiritual fruit has been reaped among those children of the wilds.

The field of the Society in Canada is altogether in

⁵⁰ See Note VI.

the far north and west. You must carry your thoughts to the margin of icy seas, to Hudson's Bay, for nine months of the year ice-bound, to the Polar Ocean, the 'Great Slave Lake,' the 'Great Bear Lake,' across which stretches the mystic line of the Arctic Circle. You must think of Englishmen and women living among and for the Indians there, where there is but one post in the year, and occasionally not even this ; and whence the Bishop of Selkirk could not come to attend the Lambeth Conference because it was impossible to get to London and back again in the course of a year.

In the records of the North-West Canada Mission stand forth the names of hardy labourers, heroic men ; of Bishop John Horden, the apostle of the Hudson shore, where the diocese of Moosonee is a visible fruit of his labours, a diocese in which, under the second bishop, are now labouring five native Indian clergy and thirty-four native lay workers. And of Bishop Bompas, first Bishop of Athabasca, who now occupies one portion of the subdivided see, called Selkirk, which extends 250 miles north of the Arctic Circle, and who has earned the reputation of being the most self-sacrificing bishop in the world. Selkirk abuts on Alaska, and is notable as being the region of the world-famed Klondyke. The records of the Church's progress in these wilds are equal in interest to any which have been furnished in ancient and modern times, and more than once has been seen the spec-

tacle of a great chief calling around him all his tribe, and bravely making the great decision to destroy his idols and turn to Christ as God.

To the combined efforts of the great Missionary Societies, directed and aided by the energy and devotion of the Archbishop of Rupertsland and his suffragans, is owing a real and stable development of the Church in the great North-West. It is not so many years since Fort Garry was a stockaded post of the Hudson's Bay Company, on the Red River. It has grown into the city of Winnipeg, in an ecclesiastical sense important as the seat of the Archbishop and of a Cathedral, and University college.⁵¹ I know not whether a See House has been added; but in the year 1881, when I had the pleasure of calling on Bishop Machray, to inquire about the work of the Church in the North-West, his house was a low one-storied wooden building, destitute of all luxuries and of most comforts, standing in a willow grove by the rushing brown flood of the Red River, the floors uncarpeted, the walls uncoloured, the pictures, which had been brought from England, still standing with their faces to the wall unhung. The Bishop's heart was all in his work; he had no time to think of comforts.

In 1849, when the see of Rupertsland was founded, as the outcome of a visit of Bishop Mountain of Quebec to confirm some Indians, converts of

⁵¹ See Note VII.

the C.M.S., at Fort Garry, there was but a very scant population of whites, and the new see extended to the Rocky Mountains, over more than 800 miles of unbroken prairie. The population has enormously grown, and the division of the original see has been again and again required, so that, within 45 years, eight new sees have been constituted east of the Rocky Mountains, in the former diocese of Rupertsland, three of which have owed their origin mainly to the Church Missionary Society—Moosonee, Mackenzie River, and Selkirk—and five of which have been or are occupied by men who were C.M.S. missionaries.⁵² No more wholesome reading could be undertaken by one whose study of Church work is restricted to observing the quiet round of pastoral work at home, than the reports of the Bishops of the great North-West, in their wonderful journeys, in their perils from the heathen, their perils from the frost and snow, their perils on the frozen seas, and in the exquisite joy of their reward when, from time to time, genuine victories over the kingdom of Satan are secured, and the true Christian life is shown in its fair working by these children of the north.⁵³

In the diocese of New Westminster, west of the mountains, there are other extensive and growing missions to the Indians under diocesan management.

I have spoken of the missionary labours of

⁵² See Note VIII.

⁵³ See Note IX.

the four leading Societies, and of subdivision of dioceses, to meet the ever-growing wants of ministration both to our own people and to the churches of the native converts. But you must not suppose that when a congregation is collected or a see is formed, a bishop appointed, perhaps a synod called, the ship of the Church, thus launched forth, is secured a voyage of unbroken safety and success. Far from it. The gradual building up of Church work, the awakening of the true life in many souls, the continual demand for a pushing onward to further regions as the fringe of settlement extends, is a costly, disappointing, often heart-breaking work. Let not this be disguised. The rosy colour in which the settlers' enthusiasm for their Church is often painted, too frequently fades—when facts are soberly looked at—to a sad grey hue. The history of the diocese of New Westminster, in British Columbia, is a good example of the arduous toil and slow progress which only, after many years, seem now to be approaching nearer to a successful issue. Look the truth in the face. The lack of endowments, the feebleness and fluctuation of support from England, the limited stipends which can be assigned to each clergyman, the fewness of workers and the wide sphere of the work, together with the too narrow sympathy of the Church in Eastern Canada, from its absorption in attention to local needs; and the want of power, in the case of most of

the new settlers, to contribute anything but a very trifle to Church support, has made the work of a bishop in this and like Canadian sees one of arduous toil, of great care and cost, and of painful and frequent disappointment. There are settlers on the plains of Alberta, and in the mining villages which fringe the shores of the Fraser River, who still receive scant pastoral attention, and who are always disposed to blame 'the Church' for neglecting its people.

When will the corporate sympathy of the Church of England be so drawn forth that a strong vital current will flow through and so unite all the parts of the body, even the most feeble and distant, that it will be impossible for churchmen at home to allow their colonial brethren in the earlier years of their migration to suffer from want of the means of grace? When will the settler himself see that duty calls him to seek the blessing of God on his new home; like Abraham, always to erect his 'altar' where he pitches his 'tent,' and to offer a tenth, or a twentieth, of that which his labours procure, for the support of the means of grace in the place where he has come to dwell? And when will young and ardent souls among our clergy and divinity students hear the call to serve God in regions like these, which are so often left destitute, for weary years, of teachers of the way of life?

THE ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH

Next among the labours which have resulted in the full development of the Canadian Church may be named her *internal organisation*. This had small and tentative beginnings. It sprang from the necessity felt by the Church to secure in perpetuity the commutation money of the clergy who were made annuitants in 1854. Previously, the clergy were supported in great measure by the original clergy reserves, created by the Constitutional Act of 1791, to which I alluded when speaking of the beginnings of the Church in Nova Scotia. Disputes as to the meaning of the term 'Protestant clergy' led to an Imperial Act in 1840, dividing the reserves between the Church of England, Presbyterian, and other worship and religious instruction; and afterwards to the resumption, by a later Act of 1854, of the reserve lands and the pensioning off of clergy and ministers. At the suggestion of Government, and with all but universal consent, the clergy commuted, and societies were formed or rearranged in each diocese to deal with the capital sums thus divided, somewhat as in the Church of Ireland; the interest being supplemented by parochial subscriptions. By degrees other Church requirements, besides the support of the clergy, were placed on the Diocesan Societies. An important step in advance had been taken when, so early as 1842, the Diocese

of Toronto added the promotion of missionary work to the other objects of its Society. ‘To extend to the whole population of the diocese that knowledge of salvation which is our most precious treasure,’ was, in the words of the organising resolution, a leading aim of the Diocesan Society. In advocating its establishment, Bishop Strachan paid a due tribute to the missions sent to Canada by the S.P.G. ‘Well have these servants of God fulfilled the glorious objects of their divine mission by proofs daily given of such piety, zeal, and labour, mentally and bodily, of hardships patiently endured, and fortitude displayed, as render them not unworthy of the primitive age of the Church.’ Within four years the Diocesan Church Society leavened the whole province and supported twelve additional missionaries. The question of wider missionary work was taken up at a later date by the Provincial Synod of Ontario, in 1883, when ‘the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada’ was established, which, in 1884, resolved to divide its contributions to foreign missions in the proportion of two-thirds to the S.P.G. and one-third to the C.M.S. But the missionary organisation of the Church has advanced much since that year. In 1888, in counsel with the S.P.G. in London, the Canadian Bishops resolved to attempt direct missionary work; and, in 1890, the Rev. J. G. Waller was sent out by the Canadian

Board for Domestic and Foreign Missions as its first missionary to Japan.⁵⁴

Little by little more prominence has been given to the subject of missionary work, in the organisation of the Church, and, at the last meeting of the General Synod, one missionary society was formed for the whole Church (consisting of all its members), and the third day of the meeting of each General Synod is set apart for the consideration of the missionary work of the Church.

The formation of Diocesan Societies directed the attention of the Church to the need of fuller and more regular ecclesiastical organisation. The Church in the United States had early in her history adopted the principle of Diocesan and Provincial Synods. Each diocese had had its 'Convention' (the American equivalent for 'Synod'); and all had united in the 'General Convention,' which was first held at Philadelphia in 1784-5. In Canada, as early as 1769, a committee was formed in Halifax for the organisation of the missions in Nova Scotia. It was dissolved in 1776 on account of the refusal of the S.P.G. to grant to the committee coercive power over the clergy.

It was in 1853 that the first Diocesan Synod was formed in Toronto, the strong bishop of that diocese, Right Rev. John Strachan, being the prime mover. The example was speedily followed by the

⁵⁴ See Note X.

other Canadian dioceses. As in the history of the Irish disestablished Church, so in Canada, there were those who feared that synods would place undue weight in the hands of the clergy as a separate order, and become a source of friction between the clergy and laity in the Church. Experience has long since proved that a representative synod is truly popular, truly democratic, and the best antidote to clerical autocracy.⁵⁵

The formation of Diocesan Synods was soon followed by that of a Provincial Synod for Eastern Canada in 1861, and, fourteen years later, for Rupertsl-land, while the Canadian General Synod was constituted so late as 1893.

The Church in Canada is now fully represented in her General Synod, which embraces the two Provinces, together with the two independent dioceses of Caledonia and Newfoundland. The Diocesan Synods elect members both to the Provincial and to the General Synods, as in the case of the Australian Church. Each diocese (except Algoma, which sends but three of each order) elects twelve clerical and twelve lay representatives to the Provincial, and four of each order to the General Synod, together with a supplemental list of substitutes.

It is interesting to know that it was the Canadian Provincial Synod which, in 1865, brought under the

⁵⁵ See Note XI.

notice of the Archbishop of Canterbury the desire of the American and Colonial Episcopate for a general or Pan-Anglican Synod, which, under the less ambitious title of the 'Lambeth Conference,' has now assembled four times, at intervals of about ten years, and which has done much to consolidate the English Church throughout the world.⁵⁶

The rapidity with which the diocesan organisation of the Church has advanced may be placed in interesting comparison with the diocesan expansion of the English Church in her earliest period. It has been held a great advance that, in the 107 years which elapsed between the year 598, when Canterbury was founded, and 705, which saw the establishment of the diocese of Sarum, no less than eleven bishoprics were created.⁵⁷ But Canada can show a greater rate of expansion. In the 114 years which separate the planting of the See of Nova Scotia, with episcopal jurisdiction over all Canada and Newfoundland, and the present, that Church has grown until it now consists of two provinces—Canada and Rupertsländ—with two Archbishops, twenty suffragan and two independent Bishoprics.⁵⁸

If the Canadian Church will rise to a due sense of the responsibility laid on her resources to give liberal help to her more remote dioceses and parishes, there can be no fear but that this organisation, informed with spiritual vitality, will prove as great a

⁵⁶ See Note XII.

⁵⁷ See Note XIII.

⁵⁸ See Note XIV.

blessing to the land as the Church of England has done for the mother country. But one of the chief causes for anxiety as to the spiritual state of the Canadian Church arises from her too slow advance in the development of the missionary spirit, and of a due sense of spiritual responsibility to the ‘regions beyond.’

I have told you now something of the part taken by societies from without and organisations from within in building up the Church in the Dominion of Canada. There remains to be noted one more force to which it is impossible to attribute too much of the Church’s progress.

The age-long experience of the Catholic Church has proved that, under her Divine Head, the energies of the body, though diffused through many members, are at all times found concentrated for effective use, in comparatively few. The consecration of personality is the secret of advance; no one who traces the history of Christian Missions can doubt this. I cannot more fitly bring this notice to a close than by dwelling for a while on the debt which the Church in Canada owes to a number of men, of widely different gifts, who have consecrated their lives to her service.

It is a thrilling thought that amongst those whom I address to-day may be men who, little as they think it now, may yet—if they do but ‘leave all, rise up, and follow Christ’—‘do something for which,’ in

the winning words of Bishop Andrewes, they shall, when they are dead, 'be long remembered for good.'

What are the elements of power which, always under the direction of the Spirit of God, give to personality such possibilities? I ask it because I long to win a response from some of those who hear me.

Let us think for a moment. There are men whose knowledge of theology is vitalised by conviction, and men of insight quick to perceive the needed forward step and of impulse quick to take it; men, again, of singular organising power, capable of shaping a system of finance, of rapidly drawing up a resolution which will unite many divergent wills in one practical purpose, of planning a society on the wisest lines. And yet, experience has found that neither the gift of instructed conviction, nor the gift of insight and impulse, nor the gift of organising power, can be relied on to bear the strain of forcing forth the cause of Christ against the stream of an opposing world.

It is when conviction is charged with sympathy, when impulse and insight are made permanent by patience, when the well-planned society is led by a man of indomitable will, that these gifts become powers, and the Church and her Master are pre-eminently served. Many a wise head and energetic hand has been at work in that western branch of our Church; and I think you may be stimulated, as men

of many varied gifts, if I give you a rapid glance at three lives to which, amongst not a few others, the Canadian Church owes a lasting debt.⁵⁹

As an example of the benefits to the Church of strong will-power devoted to her interests, John Strachan stands forth in the Church in Canada, as Samuel Marsden in the early days of the Australasian Church. The history of the diocese of Toronto, for its first thirty years, is completely identified with the life of its first bishop. He was in a strict sense its Head Centre. He moulded its doctrines and directed its energies. He ruled with a will-power which made the expression '*Nil sine episcopo*' a reality while he lived. A man born to rule, his first emergence was on the occasion of the American invasion of the province in 1812, when he made his force felt both by the Canadian and American leaders in ways which it would be too long to trace. Next he is seen fighting the cholera in 1832, when wave after wave of immigrants poured over Canada, many carrying with them the seeds of fatal disease; and men rallied round the man who never feared, but fought the plague, and ministered to the sick and buried the dead when most men quailed.⁶⁰

And what were his special labours? Bishop Strachan was prime mover in founding the University of King's College in 1843; and when, to his intense vexation and anger, seven years later, the

⁵⁹ See Note XV.

⁶⁰ See Note XVI.

Government secularised this college, it was but a call to the Bishop to set to work to create a separate Church University of private endowment, which should remain a nursery for the Church, and with which none could interfere. He began by heading the subscription list with 1,000*l.*; in nine months he had collected 25,000*l.* in Canada; and, at the age of seventy-two, he travelled to England, where he added 15,000*l.* more to the fund, 3,000*l.* of which was the contribution of the S.P.G. And he lived to see the project completed, buildings erected, and a permanent endowment provided for Trinity College, a foundation which still continues its useful course as a training college for the Church. It has a divinity faculty and a royal charter. Over seven hundred students have been trained by the college, two hundred of whom have taken holy orders.⁶¹

While these labours were going forward, regular visitations of the diocese—often in the midst of extraordinary hardships from primitive modes of travelling—were not relaxed.

Bishop Strachan formed the first Diocesan Synod in Canada, which was, therefore, the first in any British colony. He planned the subdivision of his diocese, and lived to see Huron, Ontario, and Niagara made separate sees. He began his career, in 1803, as a missionary under the S.P.G.; he lived

⁶¹ See Note XVII.

to attend the first Lambeth Conference in 1867, and he died in England at the age of ninety-four.

In striking contrast to Strachan, view for a few moments the career of another true maker of the Canadian Church, the Hon. Charles James Stewart, second Bishop of Quebec, whose episcopate of twelve years crowned an apostolic life of missionary work under the S.P.G. Fifth son of the Earl of Galloway, a Fellow of All Souls', Oxford, rector of a delightful country parish in Huntingdonshire, for the love of the Master Whom he served, and of the souls whom Christ redeemed, Stewart, in the first year of the century, left all, and began his mission in a village on the north shore of Lake Ontario, whence his predecessor had been driven, broken-hearted, by the godless opposition of the people. 'No use,' said the innkeeper, 'to try a service here. It will be at the peril of your life.' 'Then this,' replied the young Oxonian, 'is the place for me.' I cannot describe his process. Its result was the erection of a church within the year, and the presentation of sixty persons for confirmation.

In this district Mr. Stewart, possessed as he was of ample means, lived in a single room in a farmhouse, that he might give the greater part of his income to the extension of the Church. Nine years were passed at St. Arnaud, and the Church was growing strong there. He then removed to Hatley, where another nine years were devoted to the like

work of building up the Church. Meanwhile he had raised 2,500*l.* in England for the erection of four wooden church buildings in the forest clearings. Then he became travelling missionary for the diocese, and, in 1826, with the acclamation of the whole Church, its bishop.

Dr. Stewart's power was not that of keen intellect, nor of commanding will. It lay in the transparent simplicity of a character of apostolic love to man, and an infinite pity for those who did not know the comfort of rest in Christ. With this went an indefatigable patience. The power of his gentleness stands in vivid contrast to the power of Strachan's will; but who shall say which exercised the stronger force? Bishop C. Stewart died in 1837, a saint unspotted by the world, leaving no property behind him, for all that he had possessed had been spent in his Master's service.

A third personality comes before us ere I close. I have said all this about Canada, and scarce a word as yet about the interesting but desolate island which guards the entrance to its mighty river.

Although Newfoundland had been discovered by Cabot, and claimed for England in the time of Henry VII., England was for a long time too much absorbed in her own political and ecclesiastical struggles to bestow much thought on her new possession. It was towards the close of Elizabeth's reign that a charter was given to Sir Humphrey Gilbert,

who first proclaimed the Christian religion on American soil on the site where now stands the city of St. John's. Crowds of fishermen soon appeared on the coast ; small colonies of persecuted Puritans settled there ; but for a century the condition of the island was one of disorder and immorality.

Dr. Bray, as Commissary for the Bishop of London, reported that 'there are 7,000 permanent inhabitants, increased to 17,000 in summer . . . who live in riot and robbery unequalled in the whole world.' A tardy attempt by Government to place a chaplain there was frustrated when difficulties arose ; and it was seen how little of serious purpose was as yet felt in the discharge of Church responsibilities. No sooner, however, had the S.P.G. been founded than steps were taken to make grants, small at first, but increasing in amount, for the maintenance of the Christian ministry among the settlers and fishermen.

While the condition of the population slowly improved, and the Church gradually strengthened, no real advance towards earnest Church life took place for many years. Nominally the island came under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Nova Scotia towards the close of the century ; but it was not erected into a diocese till 1839. Under its first bishop, Dr. Spencer, foundations were laid in the extension of pastorate, school, college, and cathedral, which needed but the force of a great mind and will, and of

an unwearied patience, to mould all into a full and harmonious Church life.

This was the mission of Edward Feild, a man who, through his personality, consecrated to Christ's service, has done more than any other to make Newfoundland a stronghold of spiritual Churchmanship.

Bishop Feild was consecrated in 1844, and for thirty-two years was the central figure in Newfoundland. The personality of the bishop seemed to combine much of the characteristics of Strachan and Stewart. No opposition could conquer his patience, no disappointment spoil the simple trust of a life of self-sacrifice, solemnised and sweetened by incessant communion with God. Of the deep inward sources of his life of constant action he was not wont to speak many words. He took a strong line from the first as a true governor. He made it a rule of the diocese to have daily prayer in every church. He insisted that the fisher-folk who belonged to the Church should pay, and the clergy apply for and receive, tithe in kind, of their summer harvest of the sea. He compelled every congregation, though the members, in their little villages clinging to the shores of lonely bays, might be few and poor, to contribute something, however small, to the central Church fund, which he created as a safeguard against congregationalism; and he surrendered, of his own motion, a large portion of the annual grants of the

Propagation Society, lest the Church should depend too long on outside help, and never rise to a sense of her duty to be self-supporting. Presented by a friend with a small Church ship, Feild, like Selwyn of New Zealand at a later date, made his visitations continually by sea. For all the settlements of the island can be reached by way of the coast, and in winter it is easier to proceed from village to village over the frozen sea than by climbing the rocky headlands which divide them.

The bishop sought helpers from England, and found them, by representing the life of a clergyman in Newfoundland and on the Labrador as an enduring of hardness; for food, biscuit and dried cod, milkless tea, tinned meat, if any; and for labour, the constant necessity that the clergyman should be his own cook, boatman, builder, sexton. He did not hide the facts about the extreme wintry cold, the journeyings on snowshoes, over long leagues of frozen waste, to visit the sick or to bury the dead. There were men who found a life, so described, quite to their taste, and it was because Feild secured the services of such men that the deeper interests of the Newfoundland Church grew and strengthened. There were men in the Mother Church who found such a life appeal to them more than the home life of comparative ease seasoned with the bitter herbs of controversy or apathy. The private life of Feild was simple, saintly, severe. The words of the

Psalter, which he would softly chant to himself, as beneath the stars he walked the deck of the Church ship, were not only his favourite channel of devotion, but the Psalmist's ideal in Feild's best-loved Psalm, the fifteenth, was his true description. In apostolic self-negation, leading the band of true soldiers of the Cross whom he gathered round him, the bishop spent his thirty-two years in Newfoundland, and the memory of his brave wholesome life still lingers, like the breath of its salt sea, in the island diocese, to which God led him to be a father of the Church indeed.

Is there no inspiration for young lives still in the personality of men like these, who have been the true makers of the Canadian Church ?

LECTURE IV

THE CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA AND TASMANIA

'The Kingdom of Heaven is like a grain of mustard-seed, which a man took, and sowed in his field ; which indeed is less than all seeds : but when it is grown, it . . . becometh a tree, so that the birds of the heaven come and lodge in the branches thereof.'—*St. Matthew* xiii. 31.

IF this parable of our Lord has found its general fulfilment in the growth of the Church of Christ in the world, I know of no particular fulfilment more striking than that presented to us by the origin and development of the Australian Church. To tell its history in a sermon is plainly an impossible task. But enough may be said to strengthen faith in the vitality of the Church, and perhaps to kindle enthusiasm in its service, when, as briefly as may be, is traced the growth of 'a grain of mustard-seed which a man took and sowed in his field.' The field is the vast island continent of Australia, recently organised into a United Commonwealth—a great nation ; but, till 1770, unknown to England, although previously viewed from the decks of Dutch and Portuguese ships early in the seventeenth century. The man, a volunteer for a most trying duty, the

Rev. Richard Johnson, who, with small support or sympathy from the authorities, accompanied the convoy of ships which brought the first unpromising band of colonists to Port Jackson in 1778.

The American Colonies had revolted ; England's prestige and power seemed to have received a shattering stroke. But from that revolt was to be born the Greater Britain which we know. The closing of the American Colonies was the opening of Canada and Australia. Canada received her first English settlers from the expelled loyalists of New England, and—the American ports being no longer available for the reception of our criminal classes—on the wooded shores of the magnificent harbour of Sydney a thousand men (three-fourths of them transported convicts and their families, and the remainder their military guard) landed in the Australian mid-summer of January, 1788. No word of praise to God was uttered for a safe six months' voyage ; no voice of prayer for Heaven's blessing on the undertaking. Only a bare toleration at best, more commonly a frown and a hard word, for the solitary priest of the Church of England who sought to sow the good seed from which, by God's blessing, should grow in due time the fruit of salvation on so vast a field. Only the Union Jack on the flagstaff, and the rations of rum served out that the soldiers should drink the health of King George. No humbly bended knee, as a century before, when,

amid Newfoundland snows or in Virginian forests, Christian Englishmen, taking possession, acknowledged first of all the supremacy of Almighty God. And in six years but one church erected, and that of wattles, like the churches of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers ; and built at the cost, and partly by the hands, of the one man who alone represented for England in the new land the Divine idea.

And now an organised Church is there, divided into sixteen Australian dioceses, where, in great cathedrals and lowlier fanes, our English worship is offered as at home. Synods meet in all completeness of organisation ; a Province of New South Wales ; a General Synod of all Australia, meeting every fifth year ; universities, training colleges, missions to the heathen, large endowments, forward movements as new settlements arise, when a mysterious hand draws the people further and further by exposing new reefs of gold-bearing quartz, or revealing new pastures where wool, the rival of gold, can be produced in highest perfection by human toil.⁶² Glance at the outline of the story, and then at the nature of the work. Already, in previous Lectures, I have more than once emphasised that which stands so clearly forth in the history of missionary enterprise and Church extension—the power of personality. The first Australian clergyman was of a retiring disposition, but of an un-

⁶² See Note I.

quenchable faith and patience. Unquelled by the frown of a Governor, or by the hostility of the convicts, who speedily burnt down his wattled church, he worked on while strength endured. Do not forget him ; nor yet the second chaplain, co-worker with Johnson, and even more than he entitled to the name of founder, who, first in New South Wales, and later in New Zealand, laid deep the solid base of a great structure. Samuel Marsden, the Yorkshire farmer's son, the man of iron will, whose brow, and jaw, and eye revealed the power of mastery, who held his own against insult, and persecution, and libel, and forced the unwilling Governors to recognise the Church and endow her buildings and attend her services ; who, fired by the spirit of his model, David Brainerd, could not see a party of Maori savages in search of employment or excitement, wandering among the pines of Parramatta, without conceiving the ardent longing to be the evangelist of their island home ; who, conquering all obstacles, ceased not until he had personally visited the northern island of New Zealand, and, taking his life in his hands, first brought a message of glad tidings to the cannibal race, yet to be won by the Church Missionary Society's agents whom he invited thither, to yield allegiance to the Church of Christ. Of Marsden we shall hear again in connection with the New Zealand Church.

Marsden's strong personality made a great im-

pression. He caused it to be felt that the Church was not an institution to be ignored in the new settlement. He sought help from home. From an early period the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel made grants for schools at Sydney and Paramatta, and in Norfolk Island, where Mr. Johnson had already paid a missionary visit. The Christian Knowledge Society did the same. For some years the clergy were English chaplains.⁶³ But little or no spiritual advance was made. It was over thirty years after the founding of the colony, when the Duke of Wellington, whose real interest in the cause of religion has not always received due recognition, said : ‘They must have a Church ;’ and he sought out a fit man, and found a curate at Farnham, who had an intellect as well as a heart, and he caused him to be commissioned as Archdeacon of Australia. The Venerable W. G. Broughton was nominally subject to the Bishop of Calcutta, the nearest bishop then to Sydney, and only distant 9,000 miles ! In a few years Wellington called the Archdeacon home to be consecrated Bishop of Australia. This was in 1836. In 1838 the new bishop visited Yarra-yarra, a small township in the forests of Victoria, where a pious layman read prayers with his neighbours on Sundays. The next year Yarra-yarra had become Melbourne ; and so rapidly did the town develop that, five years afterwards, the bishop was called on to

⁶³ See Note II.

consecrate a church there which had been built at a cost of 7,000*l.* By this time the S.P.G. had become fully alive to the call to concentrate its forces on the new colony; and although at the same period it was spending large sums in Canada, and supporting hundreds of clergy there, it braced itself to the new task, aroused a remarkable interest in England, and sent out band after band of missionary clergy to New South Wales and Victoria. There were but 600 inhabitants in the Yarra-yarra settlement when the bishop first visited it in 1838. In 1843, at his third visit, he found a population of 8,000, and the fine stone church of St. James, which he consecrated, and in which he confirmed eighty-seven persons. The population in the neighbouring bush, consisting both of whites, many of them convicts or ex-convicts, and an enormous number of aborigines, was in a very degraded condition, and the immigrants who were continually arriving, both from England and from Tasmania, seem to have been of a godless class. In 1847 several clergy were sent from England, the see of Melbourne was constituted, Bishop Perry was consecrated, and Archdeacon Hussey B. Macartney arrived and was placed at Geelong, to begin a long and fruitful ministry. The colony of 'Victoria' was constituted in 1851, and within three months were discovered the two greatest goldfields in the world, at Ballarat and Mount Alexander. The rush to the diggings began, and

within three years the population of the colony was more than trebled. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel came forward with liberal help ; the legislature voted large sums for the promotion of religion, and the Church of England received one half. The income of the diocese rose rapidly, and little difficulty has since been felt in the maintenance of the ministry. Meanwhile the moral condition of these rapidly expanding populations caused the Church and the State grave anxiety.

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New South Wales had, in 1835, said : ‘ It would seem as if the main business of all the community were the commission of crime and the punishment of it ; as if the whole colony were continually in motion towards our courts of justice.’ And Bishop Broughton, on a visit home, made for the purpose of stirring up an interest in the struggling Church, had asked ‘ whether England was going to allow Australia to become a nation of infidels.’ It was impossible for the conscience of England to refuse a response to such stern appeals. Men and money were placed at the disposal of the bishop. He arranged for the division of his diocese, which was becoming unmanageable by a single bishop, for free settlers were multiplying on the land, and the seaboard towns were becoming crowded ; and still, down to the time of which I speak, some four or five thousand convicts were annually landed in New South Wales and Tasmania,

while as many more, having finished their term, became settlers or were engaged as farm hands. From 1835 onwards, until the help was happily no longer needed, the S.P.G. continued a series of bounties to meet pressing wants as they arose. The object first aimed at was the erection of churches ; then the sending of clergy to minister in them was begun ; and in one year thirty had been provided for New South Wales and Tasmania. The colonists now began to help, and 3,000*l.* a year was raised by a diocesan society. In 1838 Sydney had a population of 20,000, of whom 3,500 were convicts. The result may be anticipated. A report of the House of Commons on Transportation, 1838, recorded that 'more immorality prevailed in Sydney than in any other city in the British dominions ; and drunkenness had attained its highest pitch.' The work which lay before the Church was of the sternest sort. And it was done with strenuous persistency.

The details of the Church development which now went forward need not be reproduced, and you could not carry them in memory. From the time when the devoted Bishop Broughton began his splendid work of governing and guiding—travelling vast regions to discover the places where help was needed most—the Church grew rapidly. The Church of England took and kept, and keeps, the lead in the Australian Colonies.⁶¹ With the two

⁶¹ See Note III.

venerable societies, ever willing to support the bishop's hands, and aided by his own self-denying munificence, the diocese was divided. First came the separation of Tasmania in 1842. Then, in 1847, with the aid of the newly formed Colonial Bishoprics Fund, were established the Sees of Newcastle, Melbourne, and Adelaide, the latter mainly endowed by the liberality of Miss (now Baroness) Burdett-Coutts ; and, later, by subdivision, Perth, in West Australia, 1857 ; Brisbane, in 1859 ; Goulburn, in 1863 ; Grafton and Armidale, in 1867 ; Bathurst, in 1869 ; Ballarat, in 1875 ; North Queensland, in 1878 ; Riverina, in 1884 ; Rockhampton, in 1892 ; and Carpentaria, in 1900.

The part taken in this development by the Colonial Bishoprics Fund suggests that I should give it in this place a word of description, ere proceeding with the narrative of the early days of the Australian Church. This trust, which has done so much service to the Anglican Church in its extension throughout Greater Britain and the foreign mission-field, was originated, in 1841, by the late Bishop Blomfield and the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, Secretary of the S.P.G. The Archbishop (Howley) of Canterbury was led by them to invite the clergy and laity, on April 27, 1841, to a meeting in Willis's Rooms, London, at which, on the motion of the late Mr. Gladstone, it was resolved to inaugurate a fund to provide, in whole or in part, the endowment

of Colonial Bishoprics. All the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England and Ireland were formed into a 'Council for Colonial Bishoprics,' and a remarkable response was granted to their appeal for funds. The first see which the Council endowed was Gibraltar (1842), but it took a leading part in the previous year in the establishment of that of New Zealand. Tasmania and Frederickton soon followed. Newcastle, Melbourne, Cape Town, and Adelaide were founded in 1847. Year by year the work went on, the exchequer being from time to time all but exhausted and again replenished. Sixty years have now passed. The amount raised and expended in endowment of sees, erection of see houses, and occasional aids to episcopal expenses on entering on the occupation of sees, amounted, according to the Report of 1898, to little short of a million pounds (959,932*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.*). The S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. have always been among the largest contributors to the fund. But others have done splendidly.

The Church at large knows little of the part which some of its members have taken in giving stability to our Communion by the endowment of Colonial Sees. The Baroness Burdett-Coutts has set the finest example in this field of good work. In 1847 her munificence endowed the Sees of Cape-town and Adelaide. In 1859 she endowed the See of British Columbia. The Campbell family in Australia followed her example. 'A Brother and Sister'

gave 8,000*l.* towards the founding of the See of Victoria, Hong-Kong; the Hudson's Bay Company and the Leith Fund endowed that of Rupertsland; Bishop Tyrell, of Newcastle, gave up a large part of his income to found that of Brisbane. In 1863 the Hon. John Campbell, of New South Wales, endowed the See of Goulburn, and the same generous giver offered, in 1884, from his estates in Fiji, to endow a bishopric for that colony. In 1880, 10,000*l.* was given by an anonymous Churchman for the endowment of the See of North China; and in the following year the munificent Campbell family gave the like amount to endow Riverina. The venerated Bishop Austin, of Guiana, left 9,000*l.* for the endowment of that see. The Bishop of Calcutta, in 1892, gave 5,000*l.* towards the founding of the See of Lucknow.

One element in the Church development of Australia cannot be passed over without special notice. It was in the year 1851, soon after the onward movement which gave new bishops to Australia in the formation of the sees of Melbourne and Adelaide, that the most epoch-making event in the history of Australia occurred—the discovery of gold at Ballarat, Mount Alexander, and Bendigo. The Colony of Victoria had been constituted only a few months, the Diocese of Melbourne was just freshly organised and in working order, when the ‘rush’ to the goldfields began. More than a

million pounds sterling were realised in the first four months. The excitement in all ranks of society was intense. In three years the population of Victoria rose from 77,000 to 232,000.

To meet the religious wants of this multitude the local legislature appropriated 30,000*l.* a year, about one half of which fell to the Church's share. It is not difficult to trace the workings of a directing Providence in the timing of these gold discoveries, at a moment when both Church and colony were newly fitted to meet the crisis in the best manner. Not only had the Church received a full organisation and an able chief pastor, but the new colony had, in Mr. La Trobe, a Governor whose influence and example were always on the side of religion and virtue. Had it been otherwise we might not have had to record so fair public provision for the religious wants caused by the sudden coming of such a multitude of souls. The example of the Governor was contagious. The laity of the colony seem to have shown a real sense of responsibility towards the spiritual wants of the rising community. As fresh crowds poured into Victoria, from every colony and in every English ship, the Church laity in conference passed a resolution acknowledging that while it is lawful to accept the aid of public money for the support of the Church, the Church is herself bound to make all the provision possible for the promulgation of the Gospel and the support of the ministry.

From public and private sources, in 1853, the provision for Church support and advance amounted to 81,000*l.* a year, which, with variations, continued for a number of years. The State aid was continued till 1875, since which time the offerings of the people have been relied on, stimulated from time to time by gifts from the resources of the S.P.G. During the fifteen years following the gold discoveries, the clergy in the Diocese of Melbourne increased from three to ninety, the churches from four to seventy-seven, and the schools from three to one hundred and ninety-six. The population, however, increased in equal degree, so that it was found necessary to subdivide the see, and in 1875 the Diocese of Ballarat was cut off, taking a population of a quarter of a million souls, which were placed under the care of a bishop and thirty-three clergy, whose numbers soon swelled to fifty.

It can readily be understood that the process of specialisation and division did not go forward without the vigorous exercise of will, devotion, and self-sacrifice. The labours of the first Australian bishop continued until 1854 ; and he lived to see five of the new dioceses constituted.

Bishop Broughton's example fired others. The first Bishop of Newcastle (a see cut off, in 1847, from Sydney) was one of the men to whose personality the Australian Church owes most. Bishop Tyrell is noted, among other things, for having

resolutely remained at his post. He is known as the one bishop who never came home. From his arrival in 1848 till his death in 1879 he never left Australia, save to make a voyage to the Melanesian Islands, in 1851, with Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand, with a view to connecting their spiritual care with the Australian Church. He lived much in the saddle, making visitation tours of 1,500 miles at a time. His diocese had a coast-line of 800 miles, and ran inland nearly as far. It was five times as large as Great Britain. He inaugurated a diocesan endowment scheme. He himself, in temporal as well as spiritual things, was the greatest benefactor of the diocese. Living a frugal and self-denying life, he was enabled to acquire sixteen valuable stations in New South Wales and Queensland, and in 1878 he bequeathed the whole of this property to the diocese.

Another humbler name must not be forgotten in a Lecture in this University. It is that of a fellow-countryman of ours, a member of a leading family in the co. Wicklow, and educated here, who illustrates by his labours the pioneer work of the Colonial Church, and who had the principal share in developing one of the existing dioceses of Australia. The name of Edward Synge cannot be passed over in an account of the Church of New South Wales. He was chaplain to Bishop Barker, successor to Bishop Broughton, and was engaged as travelling missionary of the S.P.G. His district

was the southern part of New South Wales, afterwards separated as the See of Goulburn, and part of it assigned to that of Riverina. In 1855 he made his first journey, sometimes on foot, sometimes on hired horses. He took with him only such luggage as he could carry on his saddlebow ; and, for the rest, trusted to be supported by the settlers whom he visited. He would remain a day or a week in one place, holding services, catechising the young, and organising the Church. Wherever he saw an opening he induced the settlers to promise subscriptions for a church and clergyman. In four districts, on his first tour, he thus obtained guarantees of 1,000*l.* a year for these objects. ‘I know,’ said a traveller who was with him in one of his tours in 1860, ‘of no man to whom the Church in New South Wales is more indebted than to Mr. Synge.’ The foundation of the See of Goulburn owes its inception to him, and its endowment to a single colonial family.

Writing soon after the formation of the Diocese of Goulburn, Bishop Barker of Sydney said : ‘Most of that which has been done has been due to the efforts of Mr. Synge, who, by his unwearied patience and zeal, has planted, and by his prayerful and repeated visits has watered, the seed of divine life in every part of that vast region, which, from the Darling to the coast, requires the traveller to pass over upwards of 1,000 miles.’ The earnest labourer’s

health quite broke down under these journeys, and he returned to England after ten years of devoted work. After a year's rest he went out again, and declining the offer of an archdeaconry, he remained, as Bishop Barker's missionary chaplain, until, once more broken down, he returned to England, and accepted, in 1871, a parish in Sunderland. After a few months he took fever from a poor patient whom he was visiting, and died in October 1872.

The two leaders, Bishops Broughton and Tyrell, while they watched with thankfulness the subdivision of their sees, were also active co-workers in two other directions, to which I must now turn, leaving the further story of diocesan subdivision aside.

(1) The first was in drawing all the clergy and laity together in synodical meetings, and in further uniting all the dioceses in one organisation.

The first step towards such organisation was taken so far back as 1850, when a conference was held in Sydney, attended by six bishops, at the invitation of Bishop Broughton. Bishop Selwyn added his weight to the deliberations, and preparations were made for fuller organisation on the basis of consensual compact. The work of Church organisation on a large scale is a difficult one, not simply because of the complexity of details, but yet more from the diversity of minds and the conflict of wills. Theories of state control conflict with

theories of Church independence. Sometimes, even in episcopal breasts, lie dormant seeds of dis-harmony. Theological party may not have a cementing tendency, and the sowers of suspicion are agents of one whose kingdom flourishes in proportion as the Church is divided. The apology of the cost of travelling enormous distances may serve to excuse a certain apathy about attending to the summons to a central meeting of clergy or laity; and some men, having a work to do in their own particular sphere, may not see the obligation of taking part in deliberations which are for the benefit of the whole community.

Supported by the energetic sympathy of his leader, Bishop Tyrell did much to overcome all these difficulties. He worked for years at this problem. Little by little the idea of union grew in favour. The first Diocesan Synod was held in Adelaide, in 1855, under the excellent Bishop Short; the next in Newcastle, in 1865, at which the right was for the first time claimed to meet entirely without sanction asked from the State authorities. A Provincial Synod for the then three dioceses of New South Wales met at Sydney in 1869; and three years later, in 1872, the first General Synod of the whole Church of Australia and Tasmania met in Sydney, summing up in one the diocesan and provincial by complete representation.⁶⁵ The autonomy and union

⁶⁵ See Note IV.

of the Church of England in this great country of the southern hemisphere were now completed, anticipating, by nearly thirty years, the Federation of the Australian Colonies in one Commonwealth. The Church presents, on the whole, a healthy organic life, animated with spiritual vitality, and giving promise, when a larger degree of the self-sacrificing spirit is poured out upon her members, of a glorious future.

The seed which a man took and sowed in his field in 1788 had grown to a great tree. It is not denied that here, as in other lands, grievous loss is caused to Christ's sacred cause by the presence of party division, nor that the rivalry of denominations is a loss of spiritual power. But the Australian Church cannot compete with the mother Church in England in the warmth of theological controversy. There is true life within her borders; an immense amount of business faculty is placed at the disposal of the Church; and men are found willing to lavish their gifts from time to time for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ.

The synodical system of the Church has been completed, and works, on the whole, harmoniously. The 'Determinations,' as they are called, of the General Synod are not binding on any Diocesan Synod unless and until accepted by such synod. The title of archbishop, according to the recommendation of the last Lambeth Conference, No. 6,

accepted by Determination iv. of the Session of the General Synod of Australia, 1866, is now given to the metropolitan of Sydney; it will be given also to the metropolitan of any other ecclesiastical province yet to be formed under the authority of the General Synod. The primate is now elected by the bishops, the primacy not being attached to any particular see. The Archbishop of Sydney, Right Rev. Wm. Saumarez Smith, D.D., is now both Metropolitan — and therefore Archbishop — and Primate.

(2) The Bishops of Sydney and of Newcastle were the earliest labourers in yet another cause— the sacred cause of *Missions to the heathen*. Forty years before, Marsden had laid the foundation of the Maori Church in New Zealand. Selwyn, prince of missionary bishops, had done wonders in New Zealand and in Melanesia. His zeal fired Tyrell, his old college friend and companion of the days when the two men had pulled together in their college eight. And now together they made a voyage in the mission schooner, the 'Border Maid,' the gift of the dioceses of Sydney and Newcastle. From that period, 1850–1851, dates not alone the interest of the Australian Church in the Melanesian Mission; but the establishment of the Australian Board of Missions, the jubilee of which was recently celebrated in Sydney, when all the Australian bishops, with three hundred clergy, attended a series of most

remarkable assemblies, gathered together for the purpose of deepening missionary enthusiasm ; and the offerings at which for the Missionary Board amounted to 8,500*l.*

The missions maintained, it must be said, with very varying zeal, and in which as yet only a section of the Church population takes an interest, are several : (a) First comes the Melanesian Mission, associated in our minds and hearts with the name of Bishop Coleridge Patteson. This mission is one of the most popular in the Australian Church. It is partly conducted on Australian soil. (b) The Kanakas (Melanesian islanders are known by this name when they come to labour in Queensland) are not being neglected, and many have been baptised in Australia. (c) The Chinese also, though their conversion to Christianity is much resisted by the average colonist, who dreads anything which may raise him into rivalry with his English competitors in the labour market, are being taught ; at Melbourne missionary work is carried on among 8,000 Chinese. At Sydney there is a Mission Church with an ordained Chinese clergyman and catechists ; and among the Christian Chinese five or six have been sent forth to carry the good tidings to their fellow-countrymen, both in other parts of Australia and in their own country. (d) Missions to New Guinea have been committed by the S.P.G. to the entire care of the Australian Church, and an

increased zeal for the promotion of this mission has been stirred up in some quarters. The recent Jubilee of the Board of Missions will doubtless have good effect. The offerings for the New Guinea mission have hitherto been far from adequate. (e) But it is obvious that the aborigines of the land have, above others, a claim on the spiritual care of the Christians of the great nation whose might has taken from them their immemorial home, and in some places has forced them back into the waterless desert, when it has not, as in Tasmania, blotted them out as a people. It was a theory of the thoughtless and selfish that the aboriginal is but a soulless animal, to be got rid of by rifle, by poison, or by rum. But, happily, Christian hearts have recognised, even here, the brotherhood of man ; and sincere efforts for the improvement of the natives have met with no inadequate reward. So far back as 1823, the S.P.G. resolved, on the petition of one of the early chaplains, to assist an establishment for the instruction of the aboriginal inhabitants of New South Wales ;⁶⁶ and, in 1829, Archdeacon Broughton, soon after his arrival, tried to arouse the conscience of the free settlers to their duty to the natives who surrounded them. But it was not till 1850 that an attempt was seriously made to reach them. What has since been done has been attended with more

⁶⁶ See Note V.

success than failure. In the diocese of Adelaide, under its first indefatigable Bishop Short, was founded a thriving mission settlement at Poonindie. A sheep-run was worked by the natives, whose children were placed in school, and found fully as capable of instruction as those of the whites. Clothed and living in comfortable houses, and performing all the duties of village life, and making a profitable return from the farm, the station became quite a model place. Some of the young men came to be qualified to read the lessons in church, and even to conduct service in Archdeacon Hales's absence, under whose fosterage the work was carried on. The poor people became subscribers to the Melanesian Mission, and when, after some years, their former pastor visited them as Bishop of Perth, they collected spontaneously among themselves 10*l.*, to present him with a piece of plate. Five hundred of the natives passed through this settlement as pupils.⁶⁷ In other Australian Colonies some similar efforts have been made. In Perth, on the Swan River, a Church institution has fifty aboriginal children in training, all baptised, and some confirmed, while many have passed out of the institution and are living civilised lives in other places. A training institution was opened by a lady for native women at Albany in 1852, which afterwards received a Government grant for its efficiency.

⁶⁷ See Note VI.

In New South Wales, the labours of the late Rev. John Gribble, 'the blackfellow's friend,' have been most patient and successful; and his son, Rev. Edward Gribble, now superintends the Bellender Ker Mission in Queensland, where many hundreds of the aborigines are learning the arts of civilisation and the power of religion. An interesting party from this mission was on view at the late jubilee celebration of the Mission Board. Failure to produce reformation and amelioration by social means alone has caused the Government to place in the hands of the Australian Board of Missions a colony formed on Fraser's Island near Brisbane. Here all sorts of useful works are blended with recreation and education, and great hope is felt that the Fraser's Island settlement may produce many a useful citizen.

Such is an outline of the missionary work being carried on by the Australian Church, to which it should be added, that, under the influence of the Church Missionary Society, not a few educated ladies have given themselves to the foreign field, and some have laid down their lives for their Master in China.

(3) To the account of the missionary work of the Church should be added a note of *its educational efforts*. The Christian education of the young is carried on under stern difficulty on account of the character of the Government schools.

National education is free, compulsory, and secular. In many parts of the Commonwealth the clergy are not permitted to enter the schools to give religious instruction ; and it is a general complaint that there is much deep ignorance of religious truth among the rising generation. Denominational Church schools now receive no Government grants, and the efforts of the bishops and clergy are chiefly concentrated on promoting the efficiency of Sunday-schools, which are an important feature of Church work in the Colonies.

In the presence of a completely secular system of public education it becomes necessary for the Church to organise not only her Sunday-schools in the highest efficiency, but to place Church schools wherever possible. High schools are to be found in most of the Colonies ; but much is left still to be done in this direction.

At the Church Congress at Folkestone, in 1892, the Bishop of Manchester drew a very vivid picture of the results of neglect of religious education in Victoria. Sunday-schools, he stated, had failed to make good the deficiency in the State schools ; and he described the results of the secular system as being a great, continuous, and terrible demoralisation of the people. There are, doubtless, other elements which produce the low moral tone complained of by the bishop ; but, without attributing every crime to the absence of religious instruction in

the State schools of Victoria, we might unquestionably consider it a large factor in forming some of the conspicuous characteristics of those to whom the bishop referred.⁶⁸

(4) The Pastoral work of the Church is being carried on by many able men, both from the mother country and Australia.

The Church is doing much to raise up a home-bred ministry and episcopate, but the time has not yet come for her sons to devote themselves in adequate numbers to the immense labour of winning that great continent for Christ ; and she must still look to Great Britain and Ireland for workers.

Much of the Church's work among her own people is strictly of a missionary character. Multitudes flock to the plains and mines of Perth and of Queensland. The mining camps of Coolgardie and elsewhere still look to the home-land for most of their mission clergy. These mining districts, crowded with a multitude of men from many lands, to whom the temptation is ever present to forget God and worship pleasure and money, call for help. Loud is the call from these throngs of immortals for men of the right stamp to go forth from the Church at home and win them by a manly and genuine Christianity. The clergyman, who is a true man, will ever be welcomed by the rough miner to his camp ; the man who can ride far, and fell trees, and build

⁶⁸ See Note VII.

himself a house with his own hands, and cook his own food; who does not shrink from physical hardship, or quail in the presence of rough language and rude manners, among men who are not always silver-tongued in the presence of 'the parson.' Above all are wanted men who, knowing and loving Christ fervently, do not stand above their sinful brothers, but, while they walk with God, know also how to walk with men of all sorts, on the ground of a common brotherhood, and free, on principle, from all party watchwords and practices. And this call for men of the right stamp comes to our ears not from the mining districts alone, nor only from the plains of Perth,⁶⁹ but from the farming lands of Rockhampton,⁷⁰ Riverina,⁷¹ Brisbane, and Carpentaria. To those ardent souls who long for an opportunity to do more for their Lord than reiterate a message neglected because too familiar in some village church at home, who burn to be somewhere in the front of the battle where there is hardship to be endured, the devil's kingdom to be assailed, or wanderers recalled who have forgotten God for years, the openings in the Australian Church are many, and they may be warranted to afford the reality which is sought. The mining camp, the wide sheep-run, stretching from horizon to horizon, the noisy shearing shed, where rum and gambling are doing Satan's work, will all test the mettle of the

⁶⁹ See Note VIII.

⁷⁰ See Note IX.

⁷¹ See Note X.

worker for Christ. But he will feel every day that *he is wanted* there, and that is a stimulant and support not always to be had at home, where the disease of spiritual satiety is epidemic.⁷²

Offers of service for a limited time can be made more suitably for a Colonial Diocese where English is spoken, than for work among the heathen where a new tongue has to be mastered. It is well that it should be known that facilities are now given for such temporary service in the colonial field; and a beginning has been made by the determination of several of the English and Irish bishops to retain on the roll of their clergy the names of men who are serving abroad, with a view to recognising foreign service as not that of an alien Church, but of our own; and the time so given is, under this plan, to be reckoned in computing a man's length of ministerial service, or as entitling him to a 'good service pension' in Ireland.

The S.P.C.K. have been giving attention to this subject, and have formed a *Council for Service Abroad* in connection with the United Boards of Missions of Canterbury and York.⁷³ It will be long ere the Australian Church can dispense with our aid in men; and candidates for the colonial ministry will be encouraged by the feeling that more and more the whole Anglican Church is being drawn together in spiritual unity, and that in all English-

⁷² See Note XI.

⁷³ See Note XII.

speaking lands she is one.⁷⁴ He who offers for the Colonial Church is not leaving his own, but rather proceeding to one of the posts of honour, because of difficulty, in the one great Communion which, please God, is destined to be the true teacher of souls and healer of divisions in many lands.

⁷⁴ See Note XIII.

LECTURE V

*THE CHURCH IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW
ZEALAND*

‘He shall not fail nor be discouraged till He have set judgment in the earth; and the isles shall wait for His Law.’—*Isaiah xlvi. 4.*

‘A FEW faithful men, by the power of the Spirit of God, have been the instruments of adding another Christian people to the family of God. Another Christian Church has arisen in the midst of one of the fiercest and most bloodthirsty nations that ever lived.’

So spoke George Augustus Selwyn, first Bishop of New Zealand, shortly after his arrival, in 1842, in the colony where, for nigh thirty years, the agents of the Church Missionary Society had been carrying on, in the face of opposition which must have dashed the hopes of less devoted men, the evangelisation of the Maori tribes of the Northern Island.

The ecclesiastical province of New Zealand, of which, in the course of these Lectures on the ‘Church in Greater Britain,’ I have to-day to speak, furnishes an example of the twofold work of Church extension—the evangelisation of the heathen, and the

organisation of a branch of the Church among the colonists. In contrast to the work of the Church in other colonies, directly missionary labour had long precedence in the field. In fact, New Zealand as a colony owes in large measure its existence to the success which had attended the preparatory work of Christian missions for many years before colonisation began. It was the Christian missionary who, taking his life in his hands, braved the terrors of a first residence in that land of fierce warfare and cannibalism.

1. THE MISSIONARY PERIOD

The Church history of the Province, which now consists of seven dioceses, highly organised and marked by a vigorous and expanding life, began in a singular way. A devoted English chaplain, Samuel Marsden, whose name has already come before us as the unflinching champion of the Faith of Christ among the hardened convicts and the worldly authorities of Port Jackson, was brought, as it might seem by accident, in the year 1803, in contact with several dark-skinned strangers at Paramatta, whose appearance strangely impressed him. ‘They are a noble race,’ he wrote to a friend in England, ‘vastly superior in understanding to anything you could imagine a savage nation could attain.’ These were Maoris, natives of New Zealand, then practically a *terra incognita* to all white men.

The honour of the discovery of these islands is divided between Tasman (1642) and Captain Cooke (1769–77). The difficulty of gaining a footing there is illustrated by the tragic fate of those who landed from the first two ships of discovery. Tasman had four men killed by the natives. A similar fate befell twenty-eight Frenchmen in 1772 ; and the crew of the ‘ Boyd ’ in 1809 perished in like manner almost to a man. A few whale-fishers had from time to time made a temporary sojourn on the coast, but no one obtained a secure foothold there till Marsden came.

There was that in the breast of this strenuous Christian which could not resist the silent appeal of so much ignorance and sin for Christian help. Marsden’s was one of those rare spirits which combined man’s strength with woman’s tenderness ; and when the love of God takes complete possession of a heart like his, you have the material of great deeds. The records of the labours of the Apostle of the Maoris extend to great length. It is impossible to do more than glance at them. Beginning by opening part of his house in Paramatta to several of these New Zealand tribesmen, he later on made the voyage to England to persuade the newly constituted Church Missionary Society to send missionaries to the Maori tribes. By a singular providence, on his return voyage he came in contact with and was able to befriend a Maori chief, who had received cruel treatment at sea when on an adventurous voyage to

England ; and the friendship, thus formed, enabled him to decide on the plan—which was not carried out for several years—of going to New Zealand with the chief, and living among his people. A massacre, attended with cannibalism, of a ship's crew on the shores of the North Island, caused the Governor of Port Jackson to refuse permission for five years to the chaplain and his missionary party to proceed to New Zealand. At length difficulties lessened. Marsden, hiring a ship for the adventure, with several friendly Maoris, including the chief Ruaterra, and two artisan missionaries from England, effected a landing close to the scene of the massacre of the 'Boyd's' crew, and, in their helplessness, were wonderfully preserved from all danger. Marsden preached, on Christmas-day, 1814, the first sermon ever heard in New Zealand, on the words, '*Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy.*' It was the dropping of the first seed in a fruitful field. By means of an interpreter the people, who crowded round in astonishment, were assured that these white men came to bring them comforts, arts, and lessons in the cultivation of the soil. A spell seemed to have been cast on the savage nature. The beginning of civilisation had come.

It was then the opinion of the leaders, both of the Church Missionary Society and of the kindred London Missionary Society, that the way for the Gospel must be paved by the teaching of certain

arts. The first mission of the latter Society to Tahiti (1787) consisted of thirty persons, four of whom were ministers and the rest tradesmen. The teaching of religion was to be placed second, of the arts first, according to this theory and early practice. The time came when a recasting of the theory was seen to be necessary; and from that time to this, all missionary societies have placed the teaching of the faith in the forefront of their work.

This enterprise of 1814 was the first of a long series of visits by Marsden, extending over twenty-three years. He won chief after chief to friendship. He attempted, with some success, to reconcile hostile tribes. He established the keeping of a Sabbath, as a 'Ra Tapu' or sacred day. The chief Ruaterra and his tribe erected a rude building and an enclosure for worship, the ribs of cast-away whale-boats furnishing seats for the people. Marsden brought back some native lads with him to Sydney for instruction, a forecast of Selwyn's plan in later years for evangelising Melanesia. By the time of the death of the first friendly chief he had gained a certain foothold in the land. This foothold was shared within a few years by the earliest Wesleyan missionaries, who soon followed in Marsden's steps.⁷⁵

The earlier progress was checked by many reverses. Suspicions were early aroused as to the Englishman's motives in coming, and there were

⁷⁵ See Note I.

advisers who insisted that it was for the purpose of enslaving the owners of the land. Theft, petty annoyance, the determined refusal of some chiefs to exchange native produce for anything but firearms and ammunition, the attempt to starve out the missionary—were all tried by those who were hostile. The failure in conduct of one of the original lay missionaries, and his dismissal, the continual wars of the tribes, cruel deception by one chief from whom great things had been hoped—all these tended to make difficult, almost to the limit of impossibility, the earlier work of the mission. After the first flush of success, the teaching of Christianity had, for a considerable time, to give place to the pursuit of a mere struggle to maintain a position on the island.

It was a sore trial of faith and perseverance of the devoted leader. The turning-point came about ten years later, when two men of singular ability and devotion offered their services to the Church Missionary Society for the work in New Zealand. Henry Williams, a young naval lieutenant, and his brother William Williams, a surgeon, gave themselves to the work at a time when its encouragements were at the lowest ebb. They were ordained, and went out in 1822 and 1825. No men in the whole history of Church of England Missions have done greater work than these. They refused to be turned from their purpose by the report brought

home to England that the mission was at the point of collapsing. A new station was opened in the Bay of Islands; the story of the 'Boyd' massacre was reversed. The passengers of a wrecked vessel were kindly treated by the natives on the coast. The varied labours of the two brothers cannot be described here. Enough to say that they lived to see, in the words of Mr. Eugene Stock, 'the whole Maori people brought under the sound of the Gospel, thousands of true converts brought into the Church, hundreds dying in the faith of Christ, and a great British colony established in one of the finest climates in the world. Not without trials, disappointments, and dangers; yet with results, through God's blessing, almost unparalleled in missionary history.' By 1825 several of the leading chiefs and their families had been baptised.

Such was, in brief, what we must call the missionary or pioneering period in the history of the New Zealand Church. It is the introduction to, and more, it is the effective preparation for, the Colonial period. No serious attempt at colonising New Zealand had ever been made by Englishmen, until the missionary had softened some of the native ferocity, and had prepared the tribes willingly, nay, gladly, to receive the white man's sovereignty, and to sell their land to the settlers. Much of the savagery of New Zealand was abated by the grace of God ere colonisation began.

These are facts; but they are facts which it is the custom of most historians to ignore. Much as—in varied ways, socially, economically, morally—the Empire owes to the pioneer work of missionaries, it is the fashion now to attribute these forward movements to other influences: now to attribute to the missionary's self-sacrificing labours mischievous effects. It is hard to forget the prejudice recently aroused in the minds of those hostile to Christian missions in China by some words of Lord Salisbury, at the bi-centenary meeting of the Gospel Propagation Society. In the story of New Zealand, the ignoring of missionary work, save when it is wished to point out its failure, is quite the habit of public writers. In Mr. Woodward's volume on the 'Expansion of the British Empire,'⁷⁶ when describing the founding of the New Zealand Colony, he is silent as to the thirty years' preparation which I have described. The obtaining of the treaty of Waitangi is attributed solely to the ability of Captain Hobson. Nor does there seem elsewhere in any part of this interesting volume, save in the acknowledgment of the services of missionaries as protectors of South African natives against the Boers,⁷⁷ an expression of any consciousness that the civilising influence of Christian missions has been an element in the expansion of our Empire.

⁷⁶ For a very different judgment, see Rusden's *History of New Zealand*, vol. ii. p. 510.

⁷⁷ Pages 282-3.

Before we go on to study the Colonial period and the organisation of the Church, we must not fail to notice once again, as we have done in some of our earlier studies, how, under the blessing of God, the expansion of His Church is always associated with the names of some few individual labourers who have consecrated their all of time, talent, and strength to God's service. In New Zealand three such personalities have come before us in the missionary period. Neither Marsden nor the Williamses could read failure, though all but they despaired. Men of diverse temperament were these, but each of a strong individuality. In Marsden the type of countenance, the massive head and jaw, indicated an obstinate character which, directed by noble and self-sacrificing principles, means victory wherever its possessor moves. Henry Williams was a natural leader of men, of cool intrepidity, self-possession, and fertility of resource; and able, when necessary, to exert great physical strength. His brother William possessed an extraordinary gift for languages: a man of loving heart, of sober judgment, of spiritual fervour and unruffled calm. To these names we must add that of the Rev. Robert Maunsell, a distinguished son of this University, who, a little later, was the translator of Holy Scripture and the Prayer-book into Maori. Maunsell joined the mission twelve years after Henry Williams; but his arrival was well timed.

He placed Christian literature in the hands of the Maori. Soon large editions of Scripture and of the Prayer-book were called for. Thirty-three thousand copies of the Morning and Evening Prayer were soon in circulation, and converts to Christianity, as, in later years, in Uganda, carrying the beloved sacred volumes in their hands, voluntarily sought out their brethren in the other islands, so that, in the course of his first visitation in the Middle Island, Bishop Selwyn found the way fully prepared for his ministrations, and the people, as yet unvisited by any English teacher, able to say the Creed and answer in the Catechism solely as the result of the labours of native and voluntary teachers carrying Maunsell's translations in their hands.⁷⁸

2. THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Two important events introduced the Colonial period of the Church history of the New Zealand Province. They both date from the same time—the years 1839–40.

(1) The first beginnings of organised colonisation date from 1839. In that year was formed the New Zealand Land Company, which, now that tribal hostility to foreigners had been mitigated by Christian influence, found means to purchase large tracts of land from friendly chiefs for re-sale at a

⁷⁸ See Note II.

profit to settlers. This commercial company subsequently paid scant respect to the provisions of the treaty made in the following year, regulating the purchase of land from the chiefs. But the transactions of the Company were too often winked at by the authorities, and vast tracts were 'purchased' at ridiculous prices—a thousand acres for a few axes or muskets.⁷⁹ The arrival of Sir George Grey, in 1845, arrested the process, which, had it been pursued unimpeded by authority, would either have exterminated the natives or have driven them to rise to attempt the extermination of the settlers.

The Land Company did good work, however, in greatly facilitating emigration. It sent out, in the first year of its operations, three ships, which arrived in 1840. The town of Wellington was founded on the southern shore of the northern island, and 500 settlers soon were encamped there in tents and huts. With the first ship the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent out the first of seventy missionaries, whom it has supported in the Colony—the Rev. J. F. Churton—who held his services for the settlers in a wooden lumber-room, until, offended by the rude and unsavoury surroundings, they left their chaplain to minister to empty benches. The place was, however, soon filled by a throng of natives, who showed an interest in the Gospel to which this band of worldly-minded Englishmen were strangers.

⁷⁹ See Note III.

'Here is a people,' wrote Mr. Churton, 'who are waiting and willing to welcome us *because* we are Christians. It is not as a man, but as a missionary—"the white man's missionary"—that I find in every one of them a friend.' Mr. Churton was soon moved northward to Auckland, where, within a year or two, 1,500 white settlers were found. A permanent church was commenced, and payment for labour was asked by the native workmen, not in the form of clothing, sugar, and tea, much less in that of powder and muskets, for every man seemed first of all to desire to possess a copy of the Scriptures in his own tongue. '*Sancta simplicitas*,' we exclaim. But who can view without regret the rapid contamination by contact with vicious and money-loving Englishmen of the natives of such new lands as New Zealand or Uganda?

(2) The second important event of the same period was the conclusion of the treaty of Waitangi, already alluded to, whereby sovereign rights were made over to the Queen, and New Zealand was declared an independent colony.⁸⁰ England was welcomed to New Zealand by the natives, who at that period believed every Englishman to be a Christian, and who had hitherto learned to look up with trustful respect to the Christian ideal as exhibited in their teachers. Rude was their awakening, later on, and bitter the retaliation that followed.

⁸⁰ See Note IV.

Arising out of the settlements under the Land Company, an interesting, but not wholly successful, experiment was made when a Church Society for New Zealand was formed, which aimed at planting a strong and exclusively Church of England colony in the Middle Island with a bishop at its head. This was the origin of the Canterbury settlement, which has developed into the Diocese of Christchurch, and still keeps much of the Anglican colour of its first design.

About 24,000*l.* were invested in land by the Canterbury Association; but some of the endowments remained long unproductive, and but for the assistance of the S.P.G. the development and organising of the Church must have been indefinitely postponed. On the appointment of Bishop Harper, in 1856, there was a population of 5,000 in Christchurch, 70 per cent. being church-people. For eighteen years the diocese received aid from the S.P.G. The Society, although its labours were chiefly among the European population, numbered among its missionaries the Rev. G. P. Mutu (a native pastor), who twice refused a seat in the Legislature in order to devote himself to the spiritual welfare of his Maori fellow-countrymen.

The year 1841 was memorable in the whole Church for another movement, to which I have already alluded, the formation of the Colonial Bishoprics Council, which successfully promoted,

by its influence, although it was not required to support by its funds, the first New Zealand bishopric. The diocese received, in the person of the honoured George Augustus Selwyn, in that year its first bishop, whose income was provided in equal parts by the Colonial Legislature and by the Church Missionary Society.

The appointment of a bishop had been first broached by Bishop Broughton, of New South Wales, in his report to the C.M.S. in 1839. The Rev. H. Williams had urged the necessity of a living head to the Church, to whom a hundred questions of order should be referred. The C.M.S. Committee, in 1839, resolved that 'if an eminently devoted individual were raised up, the blessing to be anticipated from his appointment as bishop would be very great.' The Church Society pressed the claim; the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were earnest to see it realised; the New Zealand Company brought their political influence to bear; the Colonial Bishoprics Council warmly sympathised, and George Augustus Selwyn was selected by Archbishop Howley, and consecrated to his great work at Lambeth, October 17, 1841, in his thirty-third year.

From that appointment dates the beginning of the organisation of the ecclesiastical Province of New Zealand. As we have seen in Canada and Australia, and as we shall see again in the West Indies and

South Africa, so here, step by step, subdivisions of dioceses have been effected as Church population grew, each new see representing a large amount of fresh labour and self-sacrifice, well rewarded by spiritual growth and advance. The Church of the New Zealand Province now numbers six colonial dioceses and one missionary bishopric, and has a Church of England population of 270,000 (in 1896), ministered to by 250 clergy, with the assistance of a large staff of paid and unpaid lay readers, whose labours form an important element in the pastoral work of the colonial Church. A large amount of this fine development is to be credited to the fostering help of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The connection of the S.P.G. with New Zealand began in 1841, and continued until 1880. From the first Bishop Selwyn asked the Society to entrust him with an annual 'block grant' for endowment, rather than with stipends for so many clergy. The latter plan had proved, in Canada, a check on local effort; the former, under Selwyn's management, promoted it. The bishop took out with him, in 1841, four S.P.G. clergy, and one C.M.S. missionary, three candidates for orders, and two teachers. During the next ten years, the S.P.G. gave 7,000*l.* for endowments, and the New Zealand Company followed its example. The Society gave also 300*l.* a year to St. John's College, Auckland.

In aid of the building up and support of Church

work the Venerable Society—showing itself the special friend of the colonist, as the C.M.S. had done in the case of the Maori—expended in forty years a sum of about 100,000*l.* Bishop Selwyn, looking back, after his retirement from New Zealand, on the growth of the Church under his pastorate, said : ‘ I was once the sole bishop in the colony. There are now six dioceses there, and every one of the bishops, if applied to, would bear testimony that the institution of their sees, and the support of their clergy, are mainly owing to the timely aid given by the S.P.G.’ This period (1839–41) links together the political, social, and religious history of our colony in the antipodes. The new bishop was, in more senses than one, a real maker of the Church. Under him the white man and the Maori began to learn their brotherhood. He was as much the bishop of the New Zealander as of the Englishman, and was wont to delight the former by calling himself a half-caste. If ever Selwyn was unpopular among the selfish and worldly of the colony, it was when he championed the rights of the Maori, and rebuked the selfish Christian for his unchristian dealings with his dark-skinned brother.

The Church history of the province is of especial interest and importance, from the fact that it was on the soil of New Zealand, and mainly through the organising ability of its first bishop, that the full synodical system of a non-established branch of the

Anglican Church was evolved, primitive models being adapted to the circumstances of modern times and new communities.

It was only by degrees that the discovery was made by the several colonial Churches that they were free to organise themselves as voluntary bodies, unrestricted by the Crown and its Letters Patent. When, in 1850, a conference of the Australasian bishops had met at Sydney, under Bishop Broughton, the members carefully avoided calling the meeting a synod, for at that time they believed themselves to have no authority to hold one. But light was soon shed on the position. Mr. Gladstone urged the bishops to organise themselves 'on the basis of voluntary consensual compact,' as the original basis on which the Church of Christ had acted from the first. Soon afterwards Bishop Short, of South Australia, had obtained an opinion from the highest legal authorities in England, entirely favourable to liberty of action. In Canada the first Diocesan Synod, formed by Bishop Strachan, had not attempted to meet without the sanction of the home authorities (1853). But this fettered state of the Church was not to last. To the Governor-General of Canada, in 1856, the Secretary for the Colonies wrote some simple words, which had all the effect of an oracle : 'I am aware of the advantages which might belong to a scheme under which the *binding force* of such regulations' (as may be necessary in framing a

Church constitution) '*should be simply voluntary.*' This letter seemed to clear the atmosphere wonderfully. It swept away the complex fetters of Royal Charters, legislative enactments, Letters Patent, and imperial and colonial control; and it was not long before, first in South Africa (1857), and next in New Zealand (1860), the voluntary system, unlimited by the authorities of Church and State at home, was made the basis of joint action by bishops, clergy, and people.

When Selwyn was assured of this freedom, so long unrecognised, he proceeded to utilise the opportunity presented to him, and, wisely carrying the sympathies of the Church with him, and not moving a step without the support of the clergy and faithful laity, he framed a Church constitution which provided for full episcopal and synodical government, and entered into many particulars of Church life hitherto unprovided for.

The bishop began by calling a conference, in 1857, of bishops (2), representative clergy (8), and laity (7), to adopt a constitution for the Church, the principles of which had already been carefully considered by the leading clergy and laity. The missionary clergy were fully represented. Of the laity, several held high positions in the Colonial Government. The Constitution began by affirming the Church's complete adherence to the Church of England in her doctrine, sacraments, Ordinal, and

Articles. It provided for a governing body to be called the General Synod of the Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in the Colony of New Zealand ; to consist of the three orders—bishops, clergy, and laity ; the consent of all being required to all acts binding on the Church.

The constitution of the New Zealand Province holds an important place in the ranks of similar documents.⁸¹ It was the first, after that of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, to provide for the ruling of a non-established Church. To members of the Church of Ireland this Constitution, which owes so much to Selwyn's well-balanced mind and grasp of true Church principles, is of particular interest, not a few of its leading provisions having been reproduced in our own Constitution.⁸²

From that period the synodical life of the Province has worked, in spite of occasional friction, very satisfactorily. A recasting of some of its provisions took place in 1865, the chief result of which was the readjustment of the relations between the General and the Diocesan Synods. In both Australia and New Zealand, at the beginning, the General Synod had been regarded as the fount of authority, and the Diocesan as possessing only delegated rights. This error, or anomaly, was now corrected.

⁸¹ See Note V.

⁸² See Note VI.

THE MELANESIAN MISSION

To the ecclesiastically minded churchman the connection of Bishop Selwyn with the development of synodical action forms one of the more interesting features of his memorable episcopate. But to the lover of men he is endeared rather by his missionary devotion and by his strenuous life of peace-making. Selwyn's missionary work lay in the wide reaches of the western Pacific. By a slip of the pen a clerk in the Colonial Office gave to the first Bishop of New Zealand, in 1841, jurisdiction reaching to the 34th degree of north latitude. The 34th degree of south latitude, which is that of the northern extremity of New Zealand, was doubtless the limit intended. But this was not the man to resent an addition of four thousand miles to his sphere of responsibility. From an early period in his episcopate Selwyn looked over the wide Pacific waste to the countless islands of Polynesia and Melanesia thus placed under his spiritual oversight. In addition, he had received a charge from Archbishop Howley to consider New Zealand as a central part of a system extending its influence in all directions. Selwyn took no narrow view of his responsibilities. The burden might seem too great to be borne, but he would do what he could. On inquiry, he learned that the Presbyterian and Wesleyan missions had practically occupied the whole of the Polynesian

Archipelago, together with the Friendly and Fiji Islands. Not so in the case of Melanesia, a region comprising the groups of the Solomon Islands, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and the Loyalty Islands. Seven years passed ere he could relax his labours in New Zealand sufficiently to take a first step in this wider field. He soon conceived the idea of placing a mission to Melanesia on the conscience of the Australasian Church as a whole. He found in his old college friend, Bishop Tyrell of Newcastle, a spirit ardent as his own in the work of evangelisation. Selwyn's first voyage in the archipelago was in 1849 ; it resulted in his carrying five native lads with him to Auckland for instruction. Next year these scholars were returned to their homes, and others sought in their place. In the second voyage the bishop was accompanied by Bishop Tyrell, and thenceforward the Australian Church has taken no small part in the support of the Melanesian mission. The mission ship,⁸³ the 'Border Maid,' was the gift of some of the Australian dioceses.

The story of the adventurous progress of this mission cannot be told here. How Selwyn became the beloved friend of the swarthy islanders ; how often, when visiting new regions, he took his life in his hands, and fearlessly swam ashore to open communications with threatening natives ; how hundreds of young islanders received instruction,

⁸³ See Note VII.

year after year, first in the mission school at Auckland, and later at Kohimarama; how many became teachers, and some ministers of the Church;⁸⁴ how the headquarters of the mission were transferred to Norfolk Island (1867), formerly the seagirt prison of the most dangerous class of convicts; how large a part in the mission was performed by a fellow-countryman of our own, Rev. George H. Nobbs, who laboured, first, for the Pitcairn Islanders, and, later, was the faithful helper of the bishop in Norfolk Island. And, lastly, of the devoted life and martyr death of the beloved Bishop Coleridge Patteson, Selwyn's chosen lieutenant and successor in the Melanesian portion of the province. The conduct of this mission, which has brought light and life to so many thousands, was for years the object of Bishop Selwyn's most intense interest.⁸⁵

But these bright lights of his episcopate are thrown into clearer relief by its shadows. War more than once distracted the colony, apostasy the native Church. From 1844 to 1848, and again from 1860 to 1866, the colony was in an almost continual state of warfare; and while the arms of England were victorious in the end, the many painful incidents and reverses of war with native tribes caused some alarm for our tenure of the colony. The Taranaki war (1860 to 1866) gave occasion for many an act of heroism on the part

⁸⁴ See Note VIII.

⁸⁵ See Note IX.

of the bishop and his clergy, when they felt themselves called to risk their safety to warn isolated settlers of their danger, or to interfere between the combatants with pleas for peace. The bishop came to be looked upon with dislike by the party who sought the extermination of the Maori. ‘Here comes the bishop to prevent us from fighting the natives,’ was a usual saying. Meanwhile the clergy impartially acted as chaplains and evangelists to both sides. The bishop championed the land rights of the islanders in the face of much opposition. But at the close of the war he was awarded a medal by Government, and a fund was subscribed by the colony to enable him to place stained-glass windows in his private chapel.

While the Taranaki war was in progress, in 1865, a greater trouble fell. The Pai Mariri, or Hau-hau heresy or apostasy, a compound of heathenism, Judaism, and Romanism, was originated by a clever impostor, or, possibly, a lunatic, who pretended miraculous powers, and inspiration from heaven.⁸⁶

Mission stations were swept away, and one brave missionary of the C.M.S., Völkner, was martyred after cruel torture. Bishop Selwyn was constrained to utter the pathetic words, in striking contrast to those of his first address in Pahia in 1842, with which this Lecture opened: ‘I have now one simple missionary idea before me—of watching over the

⁸⁶ See Note X.

remnant that is left. Our native work is a remnant in two senses—a remnant of a decaying people, and a remnant of a decaying faith. The works of which you hear are not the works of heathen—they are the works of baptised men, whose love has grown cold from causes common to all Churches of neophytes, from Laodicea downwards.'

Yet, amid the sad scenes of this time, when fanaticism lent new horrors to war, the native pastors remained, without exception, true to Christianity, though two-thirds of their countrymen forsook the religion of the Cross. The native churches, in many cases, went on quietly raising funds for endowment, as though the foundations were not shaken.⁸⁷ A few years later it could be reported that, in spite of all these losses, the native churches were better supported by their congregations than those of the colonists. 'Keen were the taunts,' writes Mr. Eugene Stock, 'of the newspapers at the results of missions in New Zealand. But the real results were shown in the Christians who still remained steadfast; in the faithfulness of the Maori clergy ordained by Selwyn and Williams, and in the extraordinary chivalry and tender care of captured English officers exhibited by the Christian chiefs who were fighting, as they verily believed, for their just rights and their hearths and homes.' 'One

⁸⁷ During the period of this war the Maoris of Waiapu raised 546*l.* for episcopal endowment, and 500*l.* for the native pastorate.

striking scene,' adds the same writer, 'must be mentioned. In 1867 two tribes had a quarrel, and proposed, on a particular day, to fight it out. The evening before, they were in their respective camps, when the word went round : " Te Wiremu is dead ; " that was Archdeacon Henry Williams, entering into rest after forty-five years of labour without once coming home. A truce was at once proclaimed ; both sides attended the funeral, and a day or two after they met on the battlefield, when, instead of fighting, the chiefs read portions out of the Maori Bible, and the two parties prayed together, and then, in a united meeting, made speeches about the friend they had loved, which went on for several hours. That was the true proof of the value of the Maori mission.'

From that war and that apostasy the native Church has never fully recovered. The diminishing numbers of the tribes foretell their final extinction. Whereas, at the time of the treaty of Waitangi, they were estimated at 100,000, against 5,000 settlers, the proportion is now less than 40,000 out of a total population, in 1896, of 743,500. The present religious condition of the native Church is candidly described in the latest reports of the Society which has so long and so faithfully ministered to their souls. In 1899 the Church Missionary Society reckoned 18,251 native Christians, 2,500 of whom were communicants of the Church. The sum raised

by the native congregations amounted to 1,936*l.* in that year. There were 329 native lay teachers; but the tone of religion is confessed to be unsatisfactory: 'Pastoral support flags' (Report, 1899, 406); 'the native mind is in a state of unrest' (*ib.*); 'witchcraft is influential' (*ib.*); 'the report from Waiapu is distressing. Communicants are fewer; a new superstition, Tohungaism, wins its way. It is a form of spiritualism. The Maoris seem to be bewitched in all parts of New Zealand by these men' (Report, 1899, 407). 'Maori clergy, their wives, chiefs, and communicants, all run after these Tohungas to be healed, and the result is always the same—death.' (The Report for 1900 tells of some abatement of this superstition.) 'The observance of the Lord's Day is disregarded. The places of native clergy who have died are hard to fill. In other districts more hopefulness prevails; drinking customs are doing less evil, but the younger Maoris are inattentive to the call to Church worship. There is not only a revival of old superstitions, but a growth of indifference and callousness to religious influences not unlike that shown by a large section of the working classes at home.' It is not to be wondered at that the comparative failure of this great mission should be a text for the cynicism of anti-missionary writers. The following words are quoted from 'Sketches of the Early Days of New Zealand.'^{ss}

^{ss} Williams & Norgate, 1881.

The first paragraph was written in 1860, the second in 1881 :—

‘ O ye foreign missionaries, that only make your heathen change one form of incantation for another, and that so miserably fail to imbue your converts with any true idea of the guiding principles of Christian faith, I pray ye, stay at home.

‘ *Note.*—Since these lines were penned, many years have passed, but have only too painfully proved that the missionary teaching resulted in naught but substituting one outward form of worship for another. . . . Even the teaching of Selwyn failed to leave any impress, and after many years, and in his own day and time, he had to weep to see the heart-rending collapse of his great labour. And if his great grasp of mind . . . failed to instil religion into the native, how could the simple, primitive, mechanic missionary ever have succeeded?’

Another secular writer follows in the same strain :—

‘ The Maori notion of prayer reaches no higher than the thing we call an incantation. . . . The bubble of Maori civilisation has burst. The idea—that seemed at one time not unlikely to become an actual fact—of a native race becoming truly christianised and civilised, and prospering side by side with their white brothers, has gone where many a nobly fought-for idea has gone before. The true

level of the Maori has become tolerably well known, and, moreover, his numbers are diminishing year by year.⁸⁹

The Colonial Church presents more hopeful features. Since the days of its first bishop its development has been steady. Six sees are well established, though in most cases but partially endowed: Auckland, Waiapu, and Wellington, on the northern; Nelson, Christchurch, and Dunedin on the Middle Island. The Church population, exclusive of the native Christians, numbers about 270,000, ministered to by 250 clergymen. The work, so far as it is carried on in the towns, resembles Church work at home. There are, however, two serious difficulties in the pastoral care of the Church in the colony. First, the widely scattered bush population. As in the case of the Australian Church, distances are often great between station and station, and much of the pastoral work must be itinerant. The bishops appeal for young men of zeal, and possessing physical strength and intellectual training, for the ministerial care of regions now too much neglected. The lay agency in use is extensive: in the Diocese of Christchurch alone there are 138 licensed lay readers. It is well that in this way the services of faithful laymen are secured, and their gifts devoted to the strengthening

⁸⁹ Preface by Earl of Pembroke to *Old New Zealand, a Tale of the Good Old Times*, by a Pakeha Maori.

of the Church in her sacred work ; it is a sign of real religious life that so many are found fit to be so licensed. But lay agency like this is best used as an introduction to ministerial work, and as its helper and support. It cannot fitly take the place of the ministrations of the clergy, nor can it be desirable that the people should be allowed to content themselves with the layman's incomplete services. New Zealand calls for more clergy of devotion ; and since, in the present condition of the colony, the local Church cannot adequately meet the demand,⁹⁰ offers of service from the Church at home are still urgently sought. There might well be added to the curriculum of our theological colleges some special lectures on the work of the Church in the various colonies, such as those delivered by the late Bishop of Melanesia in the Cambridge Divinity School in 1896. The effect of such instruction by experts would, doubtless, be not only to draw forth interest in the pastoral work of the colonies, and to enable men to judge how far they were gifted and prepared to undertake it, but to provide a certain previous training to those who intended to serve abroad.⁹¹

In that magnificent climate of New Zealand, in that rising colony, in a Church singularly free from religious party spirit, and where spirituality and devotion count for more than outward forms or intellectual superiority, the Church of England takes

⁹⁰ See Note XI.

⁹¹ See Note XII.

the lead in numbers and influence, and a man may well find there a place for a real life-work in the Church, which may make a mark for years to come. There are many openings for service there, not richly endowed, indeed, with the coin of this world, but which will bring to the devoted labourer a great reward. Only in the last Year-book of the Church of England, the Bishops of Auckland, of Nelson, and of Wellington utter the same call. The great need of the colony is for more clergy of the right sort. Another need is of women to work among women in the towns, where the temptations of city life press heavily on the servants and shop-assistants.

The other serious difficulty in pastoral work in New Zealand arises from a cause which is equally felt in Australia, that the system of primary education is compulsory, free, and *secular*.⁹² Every effort to introduce even modified religious instruction into the public schools has been met with refusal. The Roman Catholic Church has shown a zeal and liberality in meeting this difficulty which has far outstripped ours. The need of Christian schools has been largely met by that Church by large contributions of money. Church-people have shown a coldness on the subject, and a content with the condition of things as they are, which has reflected itself in all votes of the Legislature on education, and which has placed a great difficulty in the way

⁹² See Note XIII.

of the bishops and clergy in their attempt to leaven the rising generation with Christian principles.

The Sunday-school system has, however, been largely developed as a partial remedy. The colonial bishops make fairly satisfactory reports on this head.⁹³ The Wesleyans also have developed the Sunday-school to a high state of efficiency.

In the face of these two hindrances to spiritual advance, the insufficient number of clergy, and the secularity of education, the work of the Church goes on with an energy and steadfastness which may well command our admiration. But there is a call to us for more than sympathy and admiration. The unity of the Empire, the unity of the Church, demand that we should recognise mutual duties in both spheres. The colony to which our attention has been called to-day has shown itself, in the time of need, willing to send its best and strongest sons to fight our battles in Africa ; and who that is interested in the eternal conflict between the kingdom of Christ and of Satan, will deny that this battle too concerns the Empire, and that the Church at home is bound to send help when needed to strengthen the inadequate forces of the Church in this as in other colonies ?

How shall I with sufficient force express the conviction which has grown in me ever stronger as I have studied more closely the spiritual condition and wants of these sister Churches abroad ? On the plains of Australia, on the prairie settlements

⁹³ See Note XIV.

of the Canadian North-West, on the South African veldt, in the New Zealand bush, are thousands of our countrymen for whose spiritual wants the local Church is unable to make adequate provision. And what then? Is it lawful for us to hold our hands and say, 'It is no duty of mine'?

(1) The question is in part one of money. Let not this admission be called a sordid one. The Nonconformists, especially the Wesleyans and the Romanists, show both a much greater organising ability than we, and much more general liberality, in the financial support of their missions. In our Church the spirit of the world seems to sap the springs of sympathy, while a stolid sense of our superiority as an historical Church makes us forget that historic claims will not meet present needs. There is no such thing known as a wide-spread sense of duty in the support of the Church. And the authorities of the Church seem everywhere far behind the Wesleyans, for instance, in the organising of plans for bringing into the coffers of the Church the many smaller gifts which, if of insignificant individual amount, become of high value when largely multiplied. All our societies, all our Church organisations, suffer from these two causes —want of general, and, if you please to call it so, denominational interest in all that promotes the welfare and extension of the particular cause; and, secondly, want of a scientific organisation of collec-

tions, so that all shall be reached, and that innumerable small gifts shall be kept continually flowing from every side into the Church's coffers. Some new stimulus is imperatively wanted, both in the home and colonial Church, for this purpose.

(2) But even where the money difficulty is solved, there remains a yet more serious one behind. Where are the young men of education, ability, physical strength, and spiritual life, to follow in the path traced out for us by Stewart, and Feild, and Strachan and Mountain, and Horden and Bompas, in Canada ; of Marsden, Tyrell, Broughton, Short, and Synge, in Australia ; of Williams and Maunsell, Selwyn and Patteson, in New Zealand ? Are the springs of spiritual life drying up ? Is the world to conquer the sign of the cross, or the cross of Christ, as of old, to overcome the world ? The reply lies in part in your own breasts who hear me to-day. Men ! You are wanted by your Divine Lord to follow with the Word of Life, not to our city streets alone, and to our rural parishes in the homeland, but to the uttermost parts of the earth—those whose souls are starving for the heavenly food, who want the high-toned leader, the example of devotion, the support of sympathy. The Greater Britain is a unit, and its most distant parts both minister to its centre and demand ministry from the centre in return. May some Selwyn of the future be found here whom all coming generations shall call blessed !

LECTURE VI

THE CHURCH IN THE WEST INDIAN PROVINCE

'The isles shall wait for Me, and on Mine arm shall they trust.'—*Isaiah li. 5.*

As o'er each continent and island
 The dawn leads on another day,
 The voice of prayer is never silent,
 Nor dies the strain of praise away.

The sun, that bids us rest, is waking
 Our brethren 'neath the western sky,
 And hour by hour fresh lips are making
 Thy wondrous doings heard on high.

WHEN, in describing the expansion of the Church in Greater Britain, we pass from our view of the Provinces of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, to visit that of the West Indies, we find ourselves studying the history of the Church under wholly different conditions, and conditions more difficult.

The islands of the Caribbean Sea have been the scene of the most varied political changes. Nearly all were first placed on the map by the discoveries of Columbus about 1490. Left as valueless for a few years longer in the possession of the Carib race, the four principal colonising nations of Europe soon

began to perceive their importance, and to contend for their occupation. Their value lay not in their geographical extent, but in their position and their unique fertility. The eighteenth century witnessed the transfer of most of the islands from hand to hand, as Holland, Spain, France, or England prevailed. All steady development was impossible. France and England, especially, were engaged in a continual struggle for a hundred years, and most part of our West Indian possessions only became settled in our ownership at the very close of the last century.⁹⁴ What wonder if civilisation and religion within their shores should have been of slow development ?

Jamaica and Barbados were occupied more than a century earlier, the former by Cromwell's conquest, the latter by original settlement. There is little that either a philanthropist or a Christian can look back upon with satisfaction in the early history of either of these long-settled islands. The victories of Cromwell in the English and Irish wars of the Long Parliament furnished thousands of white slaves to till the fertile Jamaican valleys ; and selfish greed, constant quarrelling between rival grantees, and a low type of morality long arrested the development of Barbados. The '*Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*' has been described in bitter terms by Mr. Prendergast. Among all the hard things done in

⁹⁴ See Note I.

those hard days, none were more severe than the wholesale deportation of children to the West Indies.⁹⁵ From the first serious undertaking by England of rule in the West Indies, there were forces at work which militated against the progress of true Church life.

(1) The chief was *West Indian slavery*. The original race of Caribs which inhabited the islands was almost everywhere exterminated by force in the time of Spanish rule, or melted away by gradual decay. Barbados, when discovered, was almost uninhabited. Jamaica had been depopulated with savage cruelty. In the case of St. Vincent, the natives were deported wholesale to other shores. There is no Carib population now left in the West Indian islands; but some representatives of this tribe remain in Guiana, where they have been the objects of not unsuccessful Christian missions.

In the Maroons of Jamaica it might have been thought that a race of servants was ready for employment. (The name 'Maroons' is derived from the Spanish *cimarron*—wild, unruly—literally, living in mountain tops; from *cima*, a mountain top.) But it was not so. The Maroons were descendants of Spanish slaves, who had succeeded in escaping from servitude. They became a troublesome element, frequently hostile, continually disturbing the peace, always useless to the settler.

⁹⁵ See Note II.

There was thus no indigenous race in any considerable number who could be employed as servants to the new settlers ; and first the Spaniards, later the English, looked further afield for labourers, and imported a numerous African negro population to till the fertile soil.

The sugar-cane was brought by the Portuguese from the East. Dutch refugees from Brazil carried it to Barbados. Jamaica and Antigua received it from Barbados, and the distribution by man's hand of this one natural product implied, in some sense, the slave-trade. Labour on a large scale, and suited to a tropical climate, was needed for the production of sugar. The teeming population of West Africa furnished an unlimited labouring class, already hereditary slaves of their own powerful chiefs. Force was at hand to bring together the want and the supply, and conscience had not yet awakened to condemn the traffic in unpaid compulsory labour. Our great sea-captain, Drake, was actively engaged in the slave-trade. And thus the population of the West Indies became, for considerably over a century, in large proportion a population of African slaves. So many tons of slaves would be contracted for by a shipowner, at what cost of human suffering it is impossible to imagine.

This social condition was a powerful hindrance to Christian effort. The ownership of slaves as chattel property enabled the master to veto, when

he pleased, the attempts of Christian teachers to enlighten the dark heathen mind ; and, almost without exception, the planters regarded the christianising of a slave as either impossible, or, if possible, a thing to be resisted as destructive of the value of the property. Thus the existence of this teeming population of negroes was at that time an extraordinary impediment to the work of the Church.

Conscience awoke very slowly to the appreciation of the wrongs inflicted by slavery. Cromwell renewed a charter to engage in the trade. The Moravians held slaves even so late as 1844. The Baptists would not allow their earlier missionaries to deprecate it, and the S.P.G., while careful of the temporal and spiritual interests of their slaves on the Codrington Estates, did not anticipate, by voluntary act, the general emancipation of 1833.

(2) On the other hand, and at first sight apparently favourable to the Church's influence, was the fact that the *Church of England was established and endowed* in the West Indian Colonies. Jamaica was divided into parishes in 1664. In every parish a rector and, later on, a curate as well, were maintained by the State. Barbados was granted by patent to the Earl of Carlisle in 1627, and in the patent the Crown proclaimed a 'laudable and pious design of propagating the Christian religion.' A quarter of a century earlier than in Jamaica the island was divided into parishes, and strict con-

formity with the Church of England was enforced by inquisitorial ordinances, such as this, of 1642 :— ‘That Almighty God be served and glorified, and that He give a blessing to our labours, it is hereby enacted that all masters and overseers of families have prayer openly said or read every morning and evening with his family, upon penalty of 40 lbs. of sugar, the one half to the informer, the other to the public treasury of this island.’ If legal compulsion could make people religious, the planters in Barbados should have been models of piety. But there was another side to this indulged religion. The parochial vestries representing the planter class had the direction of all Church affairs. There was no bishop ; there was no supervision of the clergy, the vestries seemed to be always enforcing the maxim, *Surtout point de zèle*. The great aim of these vestries, formed of planters and overseers, was to keep the clergy from all spiritual contact with the negroes, and to obtain the services of those who would be most deferential to their authority. And so tyrannous was their rule that, towards the close of the eighteenth century, most of the clergy had left the island, feeling that their position was an utterly false one. The offices and sacraments of the Church were for some time performed, where they were performed at all, by the overseers. Barbarous usage was meted out to any of the remaining clergy whose zeal impelled them to seek

the salvation of the souls of the slaves ; and the slave who listened to the Christian teacher was treated more harshly than the rest.

These conditions are described in order to explain the state of paralysis in which, until about a quarter of the present century had elapsed, the Church of the West Indies lay.

There was a bright exception. A good layman, an officer in the army, and an island Governor, had bought three estates, two in Barbados and one in another island, and at his death, in 1710, he bequeathed all his property to the newly formed Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as trustees, on condition that 300 negroes be permanently employed on the estates, that a school and college be erected, and that the negroes should not only be treated with humanity, but that, by the permanent ministry among them of an associated body of teachers and clergy, they should be led to Christ's religion. The winning of the souls of the negroes was the high aim of General Codrington. When, after some difficulty and delay, the Society obtained possession under the trust, it laid the foundation of the Codrington School and College, which began operations in 1743, and which have ever since done a work of untold value to the West Indian Church. The Venerable Society, when now it looks back on its two centuries of usefulness, must estimate the work of Codrington College as not least among the mani-

fold agencies which it has employed for the glory of God.⁹⁶

Looking back to the period previous to negro emancipation, and bearing in mind the hindrances and helps mentioned, what, it will be asked, did the Church of our communion do for the spiritual instruction of the people? Rome did little to minister to the inhabitants of any of the English possessions except those lately acquired from Spain. The older Protestant Nonconformists did nothing. Presbyterianism (though partially endowed) has never been a strong force in the West Indies. German Moravians, English Methodists, American Baptists threw themselves early into the work among the slaves which the Church was neglecting. The Moravians were successful in the Danish island of St. Thomas, and in the British colony of Antigua. The Methodists were introduced to Antigua by a leading official of the Government, who had, while in England, come under the influence of Wesley's preaching, and in that island their work resulted in a large accession of members. In Jamaica and Barbados they laboured amid great opposition, and for a long time with limited success. The Baptists, some of them coloured men, first came at the time of the disruption of the American colonies, and one of the oldest Church sites in Kingston belongs to that body of Christians. The labours of all these Nonconformist teachers were,

⁹⁶ See Note III.

with rare exceptions, strongly opposed by the white people. Friends of the slaves, they were regarded as enemies of the planters. The colonists viewed them as social agitators of a pestilent type. Some ministers were arrested, fined, imprisoned, or expelled. Meanwhile, in that pre-emancipation period, the Church of England, ministering as an establishment to the white people, and nominally supreme, was suffering from that spiritual slumber from which temporal prosperity and royal favour never yet awakened any Church. The chill which, previous to the evangelical revival, seems to have generally affected the Church at home at that period, affected it equally abroad. Its representatives often failed even to lament their exclusion from access to the negro. The vast majority of the West Indian population was not even nominally under its care. The Venerable Church Society shared, it is to be feared, for a period the general languor. But, quietly, and yet with irresistible force, came a spiritual awakening in England, like daybreak over the eastern hills. Most of the now century-old religious societies, both of the Church and Nonconformity, were the outcome of the spiritual revival. The agitation against the slave-trade was one of the earliest fruits of this movement; and the history of the West Indian colonies from 1800 until 1833 is one of unrest both in Church and State, with an ever-strengthening recovery in religious life, and an

awakened zeal for the improvement of the condition of the slave. The Nonconformists identified themselves with this movement first. Little by little it affected the Church as well. Public opinion was brought to bear on negligent clergy. Increased endowments were voted by the island legislatures to increase the efficiency of the Church. Jamaica passed an Act (1815) for the instruction of the negroes, which, however, had small effect. By degrees, marriages and baptisms came to be frequent among the slaves. Public opinion and the revived zeal of individual churchmen gradually concentrated their force on a demand for episcopal rule over the Church; and in 1824 the most important step was taken, which proved a turning-point in the religious history of these colonies, in the appointment of two West Indian bishops, Lipscombe for Jamaica, and Coleridge for Barbados. You may remember that, when speaking of the Canadian Church, we saw that the first colonial bishops were consecrated, for Nova Scotia in 1787, and for Quebec in 1793. Since then only one Anglican bishopric had been constituted—that of Calcutta in 1814. These West Indian dioceses were the next to be formed, the whole of the West Indies and British Guiana being included in the jurisdiction of one or the other. This was the beginning of a diocesan expansion which has led to the settlement of a West Indian province, consisting now, besides the two original sees, of the

bishoprics of Antigua (1842), Guiana (1842), Nassau, in the Bahamas (1861); Trinidad (1872); the Falkland Islands in the far south (1869); the Windward Islands (1878), and British Honduras (1883).

The introduction of the episcopate was the herald of a new Church life in the colonies. Happily it took place ere the great social upheaval which accompanied slave emancipation. Bishop Coleridge in Barbados was able to foresee the difficulties which must arise when the now inevitable freeing of the slave population was effected; and nine years for organisation and instruction, granted to him and to his strengthened band of clergy, so prepared the negroes for the change in their condition, and so gave space for calling forth the sympathies of the white people, and the intelligence and confidence of the black, that the crisis was passed with unexpected peace and order. Instead of holding drunken reelings round bonfires, or taking arms against their former masters, as more than once in Hayti, the freedmen assembled in thousands to thank God, and to consecrate the hour of their liberty by publicly praising Him who had put it in the heart of the English nation to set them free. It was in Jamaica, Barbados, and Antigua that this religious character was given to the day of emancipation, August 1, 1833.⁹⁷ Such was the beneficial effect already apparent from the labours of the Church in its renewed

⁹⁷ See Note IV.

vigour. It is beyond question that the strengthening of the Church just nine years previously had untold effect in bringing emancipation into the sphere of practical politics. The new bishops and their clergy were a means of awakening confidence on both sides, and healing the breach between the upper and lower classes by the bond of Christian fellowship. Thenceforward a large share of the pastoral charge of the free negroes of the West Indies was our high reward. The Church was still left for a period of years as an establishment to strengthen herself financially, and in her hold on the negro population, and with the result that her position relatively to that of the denominations is strong.⁹⁸

Up to the time of emancipation some of the West Indian colonies, which are now of the highest importance, had not come under the care of the Church. Neither the Church of England nor the Protestant Nonconformists have any history to record of evangelistic or pastoral work in Trinidad,⁹⁹ Tobago, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, or Dominica till nigh about this period.¹⁰⁰ From the

⁹⁸ The population of the West Indies (British) is given in the almanacks as 1,408,943 in 1900. The Church membership in 1892 is given as 596,000 (*S.P.G. Digest*, 1892). The communicants, 1897, as 127,000. This is about equal to the total of the full members of the Wesleyan, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Moravian, taken together. The number of the Church clergy in the West Indies is set down as 318; which is approximately equal to the total of the ministers of the above, together with those of the Congregationalists—350 in all.

⁹⁹ See Note V.

¹⁰⁰ See Note VI.

hour of the great social revolution of emancipation dates a period of real growth in religion and education. The State fostered generously for some years both Church and school by adequate grants. A 'King's Letter' authorised the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to make a national collection in the Church of England, which realised 34,940*l.*¹⁰¹ Between 1835 and 1842, 62,000*l.* were granted by Government to the Negro Education Fund of the Society, besides a large sum to the Scottish Missionary Society. The island governments, following the example of the home Government, made ample grants in aid of the ministry and of the schools. The expected sullen aloofness of the planters gave place to a spirit of energy and philanthropy. In Jamaica the legislature lavished money on the bishop, even beyond his needs, for work among the negroes. In Tobago a school grant of 400*l.* by the S.P.G. was immediately met by a State grant of five times the amount. In Guiana the legislative grants for the support of religion and education were over 12,000*l.* a year. The home societies were open-handed. The Propagation Society's Negro Education Fund, aided by Government grants and those of two sister societies, amounted to no less than 164,000*l.* in sixteen years following emancipation. The C.M.S. made, for a time, considerable grants to agents in Jamaica and

¹⁰¹ See Note VII.

to Guiana,¹⁰² and the publishing societies of England—the S.P.C.K., the Bible Society, and the Religious Tract Society—freely aided the good cause. The eyes of religion and philanthropy were drawn to those islands of the West, and the Church was ably carried over the crisis of its fortune. By degrees the Church became able to walk alone, and the help so ungrudgingly given was gradually transferred to more pressing cases of need.¹⁰³ Codrington College has, however, been always, and still is, held as a centre of Church work in the island by the Society to whose care its founder entrusted it; and its work, carried on of late under increasing difficulties, has been of incalculable benefit to the West Indian Church.

This crisis was fifty years ago. What has been the history of the West Indian Province since those days of transition? It has been, on the whole, a history of progress, slow but sure, under earnest leaders, and amid great difficulties. The conditions of expansion were very different in these islands from those presented to the Church in Australia or Canada. The race difficulty, the over-population difficulty,¹⁰⁴ the financial difficulty—were all present there, as not elsewhere.

Fifty years have changed the financial position of the West Indies from one of unexampled prosperity to one of extreme depression. The staple

¹⁰² See Note VIII.

¹⁰³ See Note IX.

¹⁰⁴ See Note X.

product—sugar—has cost, since the year 1838, much more to place on the market than in the days of slavery; and the rivalry established by the bounty-fed home-grown commodity of the continent has brought down the price of sugar to a figure at which, even with trebled production, the revenue obtained is much less than in the days of smaller production and an undisputed market.¹⁰⁵ Whether the sugar-producing islands will ever recover from the strain, whether other industries will take the place of sugar-planting, whether recent grants and loans from the Imperial Government will enable the colonies to tide over the present crisis until such alternative industries have been firmly established—are problems which only time can solve. Meanwhile, the struggle for existence of all who depended on the sugar-cane has deeply affected the fortunes of the Church; and the stories of extreme clerical destitution told by some of the West Indian bishops are most affecting. These trials have brought out the sterling qualities of the clergy of the province as war brings out the fortitude and resource of an army. Everywhere the all but destitute clergy have held to their posts. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which had long withdrawn its former grants, has again come to the rescue in the most trying cases, and now spends about 5,000*l.* a year in the West Indies; and it may be said, with

¹⁰⁵ See Note XI.

truth, that its support is, in several of the dioceses, the prop which keeps the Church from collapse. The poverty and good service of most of the West Indian clergy, outside the diocese of Barbados, where the Church is still established, make a strong appeal to our sympathies. In the cases in which, as in the Bahamas, the seat of the diocese of Nassau, the population is scattered over a multitude of islands, the mere cost of visitation by ship from place to place is often prohibitive; and the care of churches, which formerly were visited regularly by the clergy, has been perforce entrusted to catechists, of whom large numbers are employed.¹⁰⁶ The whole of the negro population is now baptised, and professes adherence to one or the other of the Christian denominations. Pastoral work is heavy at all times among those unstable souls; and the enormous number of these who demand close and personal care, coupled with the difficulty and cost of thorough visitation which I have described, makes an anxious problem which largely depends for solution on the question of financial support from without.

I said that financial difficulty is but one of those against which the West Indian Church has to contend. There is also a moral difficulty, greater even than that with which the pioneers of the Cross had to wrestle in the penal settlements of Port Jackson or Norfolk Island. The special characteristics of

¹⁰⁶ See Note XII.

the negro race are such as to mingle hope and despair in those who labour for their spiritual training. Intellectually, capable of unlimited cultivation ; morally, scarce to be relied on in one case out of twenty ; so susceptible to good influences that a heart may be melted by the singing of a hymn ; they are morally so unstable that the best of them hesitate to contract marriage lest it should be broken at the first wavering of affection or breath of temptation. An excitable and passionate race is this, with characteristics resembling some of those of the Celtic race : but totally unlike the Celts we know in the matter of purity ; and the painful fact remains that, after nearly a century of devotion, the Church has made little impression on the moral character of her many adherents. Church teaching on the subject has never been wanting, and it has been outspoken. The clergy have tried to exercise discipline in all cases of flagrant breaches of family morality ; but they have been constrained to judge the conflict with weak human nature as wellnigh hopeless. The establishment of well-regulated home life, and of lifelong fidelity to the marriage bond, has not yet been successfully attained. It is the problem which, above all others, still confronts the Church. Passionate repentance is common ; but lapses after it are as frequent. At the same time the Church has lived to see the growth of a greatly improved moral tone in the relations between the

white and black populations. Here her labours have been widely blessed.

The account which I have been giving of Church life and extension in the West Indian Province would be very incomplete if it took no note of the remarkable work which has been done among several distinct races in the colony of British Guiana.¹⁰⁷

The Spaniards in their search for the fabled El Dorado fell through crime to disaster on these swamp-lined shores, and by these forest-shadowed streams. Raleigh's ill-omened later expeditions in their track led to his downfall. The more prudent Dutch perceived that the treasure lay buried in the fertile soil, and was to be had for the digging in the wide coast plains by the sea. They reclaimed the swamp and cleared the forest, and, ignoring all the Spaniard's golden dream, the sugar-field in their hands became an El Dorado.

Political changes, early in the present century, divided Guiana, and took from the Dutch two-thirds of the country, leaving them their present possessions, east of the Corentyn. Within ten years after this division the work of the Church began in British Guiana, under the zealous care of the first Bishop (Coleridge) of Barbados.

The Dutch planters had grown rich in a century and a half, but apparently had given no

¹⁰⁷ See Note XIII.

thought to their spiritual responsibilities to the subject races. It was an anticipation of the more than indifference of the Transvaal Boer to the moral welfare of the Kaffir. The Moravians made (1735) a noble effort to evangelise the slaves, and to reach some of the River tribes—the Arawaks and Caribs. Their mission was totally destroyed by the revolted negroes in 1763. Several further attempts of that devoted community were crushed out by hostile forces. In the Berbice district the Moravian missions were carried on from 1738 to 1812, when they were destroyed by Bush negroes, and never renewed.

Bishop Coleridge divided the seaboard of the colony into parishes. Public aid was sought and obtained for the clergy, and the Church, in addition to her pastoral charge, set herself the work of evangelising 83,000 slaves, as well as making openings for spiritual effort among the native tribes. The story of Church work in Guiana is a long and complicated one. For a time the C.M.S. employed some faithful men, chief among whom was the Rev. Thomas Youd, for twenty-seven years a faithful evangelist. But it fell to the lot of the S.P.G. to organise a general effort. The first Indian missionary employed by the Society was sent out as a young layman to assist the ordained missionary, Rev. C. Carter, who was prevented by ill-health from advancing further than the fringe of the

trackless forests through which the Pernambuco, the Berbice, and the Essequibo pour their waters. Mr. Brett penetrated the wilds alone, and his labours of over forty years among the tribes of the Arawak, the Acawoio, the Warau, and the Carib, have most fitly earned for him the honoured title of ‘Apostle of the Indians of Guiana.’ It is an almost unique story of a life’s devotion. In Mr. Brett the fire of love to Christ and to redeemed but uncivilised humanity burned with a lifelong and ardent flame. His exhausted frame (as at length he returned to die in England) truly seemed to bear the marks of the Lord Jesus; and almost his last utterance revealed the spirit of touching humility under which his long labours had been done: ‘Gentle Saviour, pass me not by!’ Other men were sent out to his support from time to time by the S.P.G., and the conversion of many of those once dangerous forest tribes, and the founding of the Church among them, are attributable mainly to the labours and courageous devotion of this noble missionary and the band of teachers whom he trained.

The Church was at the same time not unmindful of the spiritual welfare of the emancipated negroes, and of the multitudes of East Indian and Chinese coolies which continually flowed to Guiana. The great Bishop of Guiana, Austin, who lived to be the senior Prelate of the Anglican communion, and

the first Primate of the West Indies, in the fifty years of his episcopate, made it a foremost object of his labours for the Church in this colony to minister the word of salvation to these. At the age of eighty-five, he still made his visitations in open boats on the endless rivers by which alone the interior can be reached ; still supervised the building of churches, one among which was due to the liberality of Chinese converts ; still rejoiced to see many a Chinese Christian return, having learned to know a Saviour while in Guiana, to become an evangelist to his own nation on the Pacific Coast. You may fairly associate the Church's work among the varied coloured tribes of this colony with the two honoured names of Austin and Brett.

The present missions to the Indian tribes were originated and have been continued by the Church of England under the stimulus given by Bishop Coleridge. The reality of the results received a striking illustration when, in 1847, the poor Arawaks and Waraus raised and sent by Mr. Brett 12*l.* as their contribution to the relief of the famine in Ireland and Scotland caused by the potato blight.

The devotion of such lives as Austin's and Brett's is an inspiration to others. The Church in Guiana has been well served by her clergy, well supported by her laity, one of whom gave the bishop 3,000*l.* to establish the Coolie Mission. It is thus that, in this remote but truly interesting part of Greater Britain,

our ancient Church has proved its vitality by winning souls to Christ, and stimulating philanthropy, education, and evangelistic labours. As the Gospel of Christ has proved itself equally applicable to the human needs of East and West, so has the Church of England, expanding from its island home, proved itself the most fruitful of any in ministering to the spiritual wants of men so varied in type as the native Indians of Guiana, the African negro, the Nepaulese coolie, the Chinese labourer, and the English planter. Represented there, as elsewhere, by the Venerable Society which, in its two-hundredth year, can look back on having supported all this work by years of generous expenditure, and by choosing and sending forth many a saintly worker, the Church of England holds the honoured position of animating, as a living spirit, the body of the English state. The colonial expansion is consecrated by the expansion of the Church; the old religion offers, in the new lands, the homage of England to her God.

LECTURE VII

THE CHURCH IN THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA

'The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till it was all leavened.'—*St. Matthew* xiii. 33.

In this, the closing Lecture of the course in which we have been reviewing the outlines of the story of the Church in Greater Britain, our attention is to be given to the South African Province.

Suffering as we still do from all the pain and tension of the struggle for the supremacy of Imperial interests in South Africa, it is not easy to deal with the subject without giving special prominence to some of the many questions to which recent events have given rise. South Africa is a land of many problems—social, racial, economical, political, religious; and there is no limit to the discussions which the consideration of any one of them suggests.

But I must not be tempted to such discussions. It is the *Church* in South Africa which alone comes before us—something of its history and growth; something of its present position and prospects;

something of its relation to our own people, long settled at the Cape or emigrating thither; to the Dutch and Boer inhabitants who were there before us; to the various Christian communities living and working there; and to the native tribes.

This lecture is written while still the sky is covered with a war-cloud not yet dispelled. The Church of England—which, in South Africa, has definitely taken the title of ‘The Church in the Province of South Africa’—may well expect to share for a time, to which no man can set a limit, some special disfavour on account of its close connection with the English people. Embittered feeling among Dutch sympathisers must, for a time, hinder its expansion. But there can arise no question in the breast of any loyal member of our communion that where a living branch of the Church is, there blessings to the souls of men and to society must follow. In South Africa forecasts of the coming time must involve many elements of uncertainty. But this is certain—if the Church is inspired with love to our Divine Lord, and love to, and patience with, His redeemed of every colour and of every class, it will, beyond question, grow in usefulness and in favour until it stands forth the greatest force working for righteousness in the complex society of the land.

The Church need not take part in agitation, or identify itself with any party or class; but in quietly

and earnestly doing its appointed work, and in presenting lofty Christian ideals in the lives of its ministers and faithful members, its presence will necessarily make for good, and ignorance will take itself away, and selfishness and covetousness, tyranny and slavery, oppression and intemperance, will retreat in exact proportion as the Church advances, and is true to itself. And all the time the fair balance which the Church of England holds between those divergent forces which are familiarly described as Catholic and Protestant—its genuine sympathy with that which is true in each—will tend in the future to make the Church, even where it is now limited in numbers, and only feeling its way to influence, the great healer of religious divisions in Christendom.¹⁰⁸ There is probably no part of Christendom where the presence of such a mediator and healer is more needed than in the country of which I am to speak to you to-day. The words of the Archbishop of Cape Town, in addressing his Provincial Synod (Nov. 9, 1898), do no more than make a just claim, and utter a hopeful forecast :

‘The presence of bishops, clergy, and people in every part of this country, living under one ecclesiastical regimen, and represented in one legislative body, should do something to promote a national unity. We may never live to see it : Theodore did not live to see it in England ; but we may be sowing the seeds of a harvest, and the beneficent work of

¹⁰⁸ See Note I.

our Church may be recognised hereafter. No rivalries or discords between conflicting interests or separate governments can equal those which, in the days of the Heptarchy, devastated the fields of fair England. It is at least a hope to cherish, and an ideal to which to aspire, that this Church may contribute largely to national harmony, perhaps even, at last, to national unity.'

The history of our Church in the South African colonies is one of long delays and late beginnings ; of unworthy weakness on the part of our leaders and of the missionary societies, who only entered the field after it had been cultivated by other religious agencies for years ; and of heresy and schism, within the Church itself, after that long-delayed beginning had been made.

This on the adverse side. On the other, it is a story of personal devotion and heroic patience in labour almost unique, blessed by results which, at first, could scarcely have been anticipated by the most sanguine. The awakening life must be associated mainly with the name of one man, the first Bishop of Cape Colony, who could not be daunted by opposition, or chilled by lack of sympathy, and who, finding the Church languishing in almost hopeless weakness, built it up from the very ground, and, aided year by year in all his efforts by the great Society to which the spiritual care of the colonies has been so largely committed, left it, when his

twenty-five years of service were ended, in something like worthy strength, honour, and independence.

Glance at the history of South Africa from the point of view of religion.

When the saintly missionary, Henry Martyn, was on his voyage to India to serve as an East India Company chaplain, his ship touched at Cape Town on January 4, 1806. On landing, his ears were filled with the roar of artillery and the rattle of musketry. This costly possession of England was at that very moment being conquered from the Dutch.¹⁰⁹ Martyn ministered to the sick and dying, and was called upon to perform the burial service over the dead. Holland had then held the Cape for a hundred and fifty years. During the seventeenth century Huguenot blood had been mingled with the Dutch, and a sturdy and industrious race was the result. At the time of the annexation by England, the population of the then limited colony consisted of about 26,000 Europeans, almost wholly Dutch, or mixed French and Dutch, who owned 30,000 African and Malay slaves. To these were added some 20,000 Hottentots; the Kafir incursions from the north into the colony had not yet taken place.

The Dutch Church had been established and endowed in the colony. It ministered to its own adherents with fair efficiency. Its indifference to

¹⁰⁹ See Note II.

the work of evangelising the Hottentot and the slave was a serious blot on its Christian character. The baptism of a slave was forbidden both by Church and State. The neglected duty of evangelising the natives was taken up first by the Moravians, after the middle of the eighteenth century, who established an interesting station at Genadenthal ; and next by the London Missionary Society, which was formed in 1795, and at once sent out several excellent men, chief of whom was Vanderkemp, a physician of Amsterdam, whose labours were far from fruitless among the heathen.¹¹⁰ The Boer Church frowned on these efforts, and with reprehensible consistency opposed all educational or religious labour among the Kafirs and Hottentots.¹¹¹ The slave must not learn to read. ‘The Hottentots,’¹¹² said Rev. Henry Martyn in his ‘Diary,’ ‘used to ask me, “*Why do the Boers keep away from us those little scratches and dots?*”’ The early efforts of the Moravians and L.M.S. were rendered almost futile wherever the Boer had influence, for instruction was forbidden, and conversion was a punishable offence.

To the discredit of the Church of England, it must be said that, even after the colony passed into the hands of Great Britain, nearly half a century was allowed to elapse before she showed any interest in missionary work there. Nor is this failure to enter on missionary work among the

¹¹⁰ See Note III.

¹¹¹ See Note IV.

¹¹² See Note V.

heathen to be wondered at, when it is added that scarce any provision was made during all that time for ministering even to the spiritual wants of our own colonists who, in a full and increasing stream, were pouring into the country.

The eastern district of the colony, now the diocese of Grahamstown, was early thrown open for English settlement, and soon became preponderatingly English. In 1811-12 the Kafirs had been ejected from the Zuurveldt, or Grahamstown division ; but their continued ravages prevented the colonisation of the district until 1820, when, by means of a grant of 50,000*l.* from the Imperial Treasury, 4,000 British immigrants were introduced into the eastern district. No adequate provision for religious ministration to these settlers was made. The Church of England slumbered on. Half-a-dozen colonial chaplains, indeed, were stationed in the capital of the colony, and in one or two other places ; but there was no supervision, no organisation, no life. Two or three times successive Bishops of Calcutta and of Australia, touching at the Cape, landed, and performed occasional episcopal acts. The colony meanwhile advanced by leaps and bounds. Slavery was abolished in 1834. Its abolition so offended the Dutch, that the famous Boer trek took place in 1836, the foundations of the Orange Free State and of the Transvaal were laid; and immense tracts of land in the colony which the

Boers had deserted were opened for English settlement.

The first tentative efforts to raise the condition of the Church were made about 1820 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which was destined in after years to do so great a work in South Africa, where over 800,000*l.* have been spent by the Society in colonial and missionary work. The Government was then paying the Dutch Reformed Church between 4,000*l.* and 5,000*l.* a year, and practically that Church had the spiritual control of the rising colony, and attracted even many English churchmen to its ranks.

Thus matters stood until the hour when, at the urging of the Bishop of Calcutta, who had witnessed the condition of Church affairs at the Cape, backed up by the zeal of the lately formed Colonial Bishoprics Council, and by the munificence of Miss Burdett-Coutts, an important step was taken, following the examples of the previous few years in other colonies. The bishopric of Cape Town was constituted, and the Rev. Robert Gray was appointed by letters patent from the Crown the first bishop.

The consecration in Westminster Abbey, on St. Peter's day, 1847, of bishops for four newly constituted colonial sees, marked a red-letter day in the annals of the Church. On that day the first Bishops of Melbourne, Adelaide, Newcastle, and Cape Town were set apart for labours in which each of them proved a man of power.

From that year, 1847, dates all the progress, all the true life of the Church in South Africa. Robert Gray was a man of strong personality, endurance, and faith, and a devoted Churchman, holding the views of the Oxford School, then in its first vigour. Detesting heresy, he was fated to suffer mental agonies by the defection of one of his suffragans from the faith. Pained at the sight of schism, he knew that he could with no good grace describe *that* as schism which had covered the face of the colony with buildings for the worship of God, while the Church he represented had sat still and done nothing. The new bishop took a rapid and intelligent survey of the condition of the Church. In Cape Town he found but three clergy, men who seemed to be ashamed of their position as Churchmen; a so-called cathedral, closed from Sunday to Sunday; Lent unobserved, the Holy Communion rarely celebrated. His heart burned within him at the picture of the Church's neglect of a colony almost fifty years in our possession. 'There is not one of our colonies,' he wrote home, 'that we have so long and so entirely neglected. Little has been done here by us of the Church of England, while other bodies have been labouring zealously. Everything has yet to be done—churches to be erected, clergy, catechists, and teachers to be brought out, a college founded, missions planted; and this by a Church enfeebled by the neglect of the mother country for half a century.'

'I mourn,' he wrote to another correspondent, 'the weak, desolate, worldly state of our poor Church.' The bishop's diary and correspondence¹¹³ give us many a startling photograph of the low condition of Church affairs. How low, may be in part estimated when it is said that there had been not a few apostasies to Mohammedanism among baptised Englishmen who could find in the colony none to minister to their souls' wants. The bishop soon undertook a first visitation of his enormous diocese, comprising the present colonies of the Cape and Natal, Zululand, the Transvaal and Orange Colony, with the object both of informing himself, and of stirring up the scattered colonists to take energetic steps for the provision of a ministry of the Church among them and the erection of buildings for the worship of God. His first circuit was one of 3,000 miles; 900 of which he travelled before meeting with one English church. This distance was exceeded in his second visitation, in 1850, when he covered by cart, horse-back, or on foot, over 4,100 miles. In one period of twelve days he walked 250 miles. His efforts were directed to three distinct objects.

(1) In a few months he had so impressed the consciences and worked on the feelings of the people that he had arranged all preliminaries for *the erection of eleven churches, and the placing*

¹¹³ *Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town*, by his Son. Rivingtons, 1876.

of as many clergy. From one settlement to another, from village to village, and from farm to farm, he moved on in his ox-wagon, or on horseback, or walking when mountain ridges had to be scaled. Everywhere the church-people were interviewed, everywhere they were interested. He bade them make a stand for the Church of their fathers, and he found them willing. In this and subsequent visitations the bishop's labours were wonderfully successful. There was a contagious enthusiasm about him. He awakened the zeal of the colonists ; he awakened the zeal of the S.P.G. And soon, all over the vast plains, and by the rivers of the colony, in distant valleys, and on steep hillsides, comely churches sprang up, to be consecrated on the next visit ; and the beginning was made of a parochial and diocesan organisation which still witnesses to his statesmanlike wisdom. Two years after his arrival in the colony, the bishop was able to write, in 1850 : 'The Church is in a totally different position from what it was two years ago. There is life everywhere ; all are satisfied of this. I know the Roman bishop speaks of our having done wonders. The Dutch ask their ministers why the head of their Church does not go about and see to their spiritual wants being attended to. The Methodists are very jealous.'

(2) Another subject occupied a large space in Bishop Gray's mind. Wherever he went he made

inquiry as to *the condition of the native tribes*. His desire was that the Church should everywhere befriend and teach Hottentot, Kafir, Bushman, and Zulu. The painful crises of the Kafir wars again and again seemed destined to paralyse the hands of Christian missionaries.¹¹⁴ But the Church has been permitted to take a leading part in the evangelisation of the natives.¹¹⁵ The Kafirs, who had settled in the eastern part of the diocese, especially interested the bishop so early as 1849; and his zeal was seconded by the devotion of one of his best clergy, Archdeacon Merriman, afterwards Bishop of Grahamstown, who devoted himself for some years to most self-sacrificing labours, living on a small income, in Kafir huts, and winning, by his word and example, many souls for God. At this time the S.P.G. grants were being enlarged year by year, and from that time to the present the evangelisation of the heathen has been a leading object of the Society.

(3) A third great purpose of the Bishop of Cape Town was accomplished in *the subdivision of his diocese*. He lived to see Cape Town diocese divided, and the formation of Grahamstown, Natal, Bloemfontein, St. Helena, and Zululand, to which, since his death, have been added Pretoria, St. John's, Kaffraria, and, later, Mashonaland and Lebombo.¹¹⁶ The later years of the bishop's life were embittered by the Colenso controversy, leading to a grievous

¹¹⁴ See Note VI.

¹¹⁵ See Note VII.

¹¹⁶ See Note VIII.

schism, as yet only about to be completely healed ; but leading also, indirectly, to the realisation and establishment of a stronger position for the Colonial Church, when, in connection with the controversies of that troubled time, it was finally decided that the English letters patent constituting the see were invalid to convey jurisdiction, the colony having received legislative institutions ; that obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury could not be enforced, and that the Colonial Church, outside Crown colonies, is voluntary in its ecclesiastical basis, and free to legislate for itself (see Appendix).

Bishop Gray held his first diocesan synod in Cape Town in 1857, having been preceded in this step only by the Bishop of Toronto in 1853, and of Adelaide in 1855. The holding of a synod was resisted by some of the clergy, but the early opposition soon died away. The full organisation of the province was a matter of gradual growth, and the first Provincial Synod was presided over by the bishop only two years before his death in 1872.

To Bishop Gray the Church of South Africa owes more than to any other person. It was he who, holding high and spiritual views of the true position of the Church of England, inspired a growing enthusiasm in the breasts of the many widely scattered churchmen of the colony. Friendly with Nonconformists, recognising their great self-sacrifices and the reality of their work, and being himself

respected, and even beloved, by their best men, he nevertheless could never allow that the Church is merely one out of many human organisations for doing good. He gave her her true position in the colony, though she had come so late; and she has kept it ever since. The spirit and tone of her first leader have been breathed into several succeeding leaders—West Jones, of Cape Town; Armstrong, Merriman, and Webb, of Grahamstown; Callaway and Key, of Kaffraria; Knight-Bruce and Hicks, in Bloemfontein; McKenzie and Carter, in Zululand. The Church tone of the province has been adversely criticised by those whose sympathies are with the more strongly Protestant party. But, while it is unquestionable that the tone of the South African Church inclines chiefly to the Catholic side of theology, it is to be remembered, first, that some ecclesiastical stiffness seems to be required if the Church is to hold her own in the midst of abounding Puritanism; and, secondly, that for the most part the bishops are broad-minded, and prepared to welcome to their dioceses men of genuine devotion, of varied schools of theology, if the offer is made to them. An expert—Rev. R. H. Bellamy, Prebendary of Pretoria Cathedral—writing in the ‘Record,’ July 1900, from the Evangelical standpoint, says: ‘It would be of little use appointing men to colonial bishoprics were they not thoroughly *strong* men in the purest and best sense of the word. There can

be no doubt that in the colonies, perhaps even more than at home, we want clergy who are in every sense thorough Churchmen. We have no place for the man who may be half a Dissenter, for there is a very clear dividing line between Church and Dissent in the colonies.'

THE SECOND BISHOP OF CAPE TOWN

The scene on which the second bishop of Cape Town, Bishop West Jones, now archbishop and metropolitan, entered in 1874, presented a strong contrast to that which had greeted his predecessor a quarter of a century before. Bishop Gray had found, at his coming in 1847, fourteen clergy, isolated and separated by vast distances, and ministering to scattered congregations hundreds of miles apart. Under his rule a great ecclesiastical province had been erected, containing five dioceses complete with their synods, and united by one Provincial Synod. There was a regular parochial and missionary organisation, administered by over 130 clergy, aided by a competent staff of lay teachers, while efficient schools had sprung up in many centres, and higher schools were not wanting. Archbishop West Jones, who is now assisted by a coadjutor bishop, has completed even a longer period than his predecessor, and is revered for his labours and beloved for his worth. The subdivision of the dioceses has been completed, and where, in 1847, one unmanageable

diocese menaced failure, nine dioceses on the mainland, and one, St. Helena, separated by two thousand miles of ocean, present varied and interesting phases of Church work. Everywhere the leaven of the Church's truth has its threefold destination—among our own countrymen; the Dutch farmers of the veldt; and the vast native population which abounds in all quarters of the land. We pray God that by it, in due time, '*the whole may be leavened.*'

Of the nature of this pastorate and of these missions it cannot be expected that a Lecture like this should give a complete picture. To be understood it must be studied in the ample details which are not wanting in the missionary publications of the S.P.G., in the 'Directory' of the Church of South Africa, and in the Diocesan Reports, which, proceeding from the synods, are sufficiently full to give a reader a fair idea of the difficulties and the encouragements of Church work in cities and towns like Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Kimberley, Durban; in vast farming districts like those which occupy the plains of the northern Cape Colony, and the hilly regions of Natal; in the specially missionary districts, of which I shall have something more to say ere the close of this Lecture.¹¹⁷ Such signs, and

¹¹⁷ A vivid description of the difficulties which have attended the formation and early labours of some of the sees is given by Dr. Bousfield, Bishop of Pretoria, in his touching story *Six Years in the Transvaal*. These difficulties will doubtless be renewed as a result of the war.

they are signs which can be relied on, of growing and prospering Church work, as those exhibited by a constant increase of the numbers of young people, both English and native, presented for confirmation on the successive confirmation tours of the bishops, the South African Church affords in abundance.¹¹⁸

Leaving, then, the description of detailed Church work to be sought in other sources of information,¹¹⁹ it seems fitting to take some general views of the situation in which Churchmen now find themselves in South Africa. For this great country does not only present to the Church of Christ at this time a field of ministerial labour and a pastoral and missionary charge of difficulty, it presents a complicated problem, in which the Church has not only a deep interest, but no small part to play. It is a part of the problem to which, for good or evil, warriors and peacemakers, speculators and politicians, have all been contributing their share. There is a share for the Church as well, and she cannot stand aloof and leave these questions to be dealt with wholly by others.

The South African problem has long been recognised. 'Our only relation,' wrote Mr. Gladstone (1885), 'with South Africa is one of continued difficulty and trouble. It has been the one standing difficulty of our colonial policy which we have never been able to set right. . . . This case of South

¹¹⁸ See Note IX.

¹¹⁹ See Note X.

Africa, as I told Lord Grey in the time of the Administration of Sir Robert Peel, presented a problem of which I, for one, could not foresee the solution. And so it has continued ever since—difficulties always recurring and never healed.'

It has been shown by Sir John Seeley¹²⁰ that South Africa stands almost alone, among the members of our colonial system, in the fact of its not possessing, in any considerable degree, any one of the three constituent elements of stability in a community—*common nationality, common interest, common religion.*

(1) The Greater Britain is, in our other colonies, far more homogeneous in *Nationality*. The case of Canada, with its large French and Roman Catholic population in the older provinces, and its widely spread and once formidable Indian tribes, may, indeed, be cited as analogous; and the happy issue of our rule there may be taken as affording a good omen of the results of wise government at the Cape. But the case of Canada differs from that of South Africa, and we instinctively feel that we must not draw too confident omens from Canada. Its French population does not, like the South African Dutch, form a majority in numbers, nor is it extended over the whole face of the land. And the native question is altogether different. The Canadian Indians are a waning race—a race which has no future of im-

²⁰ *Expansion of England*, first edition, pp. 44, 45.

portance before it. Confined for the most part to Reserves, and not in daily evidence as serving the white owners of the land, it need not any longer be reckoned with as a difficulty. But the Kafir, the Zulu, the Basuto, the Matabili, and the rest, are to be counted by millions. They outnumber the whites, perhaps, by ten to one, and they increase far more rapidly than the stranger. Advancing in education, very many of them show intellectual capabilities of no common order ; and they bid fair, after no long period, to occupy many of the higher, as they now fill the lower, ranks of labour.

No other colony presents features quite like these, for our great Indian dependency stands by itself. There, it is certain that we shall never be anything but as a drop in the ocean of the Asiatic population : we are not colonising India ; we do not regard it as an outlet for our surplus population, a land of new homes ; we are holding it as a benevolent parent, for its good ; and as for our tenure of it—who shall say what the future may bring ? But look at our colonies : in Australia the native element can never give trouble, and there is no rival European population. In New Zealand the Maori was partly assimilated, partly overwhelmed, and his race is rapidly diminishing. In the West Indies the foreign population was not native to the soil, but introduced by ourselves, and we may believe that good treatment has knitted their race to ours. Judging things as

we see them, it may be fairly said that in our South African colonies alone does the question of difference of nationality cause anxiety for the approaching future.

(2) Side by side with this is the difficulty of *Religious Division*. Leaving the native religions out of consideration, we have in South Africa not a homogeneous English-speaking population, more or less amicably parted into different religious camps, but a racial difference emphasised by a religious, a great and well-organised Dutch Church, with marked differences in doctrine and in government from the Church of England, and disposed, in many quarters, to fan the flame of political discord. It is not here simply the old question of religious sects at home. Nor does the Roman Catholic Church form a potent element in the question ; though here, as elsewhere, it is pushing forward with characteristic energy.¹²¹ The difficulty for this colony presented to the Church is, that it is a late comer, and not unnaturally looked upon by the Boer and Africander as an interloper in religion, just as the Englishman is an interloper in a land destined, as the Hollander has long believed, for the Dutch race. The Dutch Church existed in South Africa for a century before our arrival. It would seem as if the nationality difficulty must always be aggravated there by the division between two powerful religious organisations.

And yet this division may not be irremediable.

¹²¹ See Note XI.

It may not be generally known that the far-seeing Bishop Gray, perceiving the latent force for evil and good which lay in this separation and its possible removal, in the year 1871 proposed—and it was a remarkable proposition, coming from one of his strong ecclesiastical views—a large scheme for union with the Dutch Church, which was seriously considering on its part on what terms it could unite with us.¹²² Who shall say whether, had he been spared to carry out the project, in those days when good feeling had been greatly growing on account of his wisdom and statesmanlike tact and fine example of Christian service, some good results might not have followed an effort in so noble a cause? But Gray died in the very next year, and before there had been time to bring his proposal within the sphere of practical politics. It is, indeed, remarkable that such an idea should have been entertained by him, not only in the earlier but in the later and more mature days of his life and episcopate, and should have been debated hopefully in his synod. No revival of such a proposal seems to have been made by his successor, and subsequent and recent events have terribly drawn apart the divided religious factors of the colony.

Apart, then, from the nationality question, and apart from the ordinary questions of religious division to which we are accustomed at home, the existence of a rival Church, of power and influence, causes a breach

¹²² *Life*, vol. ii. pp. 524, 526, 545. (See Note XII.)

of religious unity which adds instability to our colonial possessions at the Cape.

(3) Lastly, the century just closed has presented in South Africa endless conflicts of *interests*, material and social, which have become more and more aggravated and intense as the years wore on. To use the language of Mr. Younghusband : ‘From the Zambesi to Cape Town, I found a seething mass of unassimilated elements. Everywhere unrest, nowhere coherence, unity, or security.’

This is not the place to enter on a discussion of the complex question of the relation of the Dutch and English interests in these colonies. The condition, before the war, had become one of extreme electric tension. The explosion which was inevitable, followed, and it remains to be seen whether the result will be the establishment of something more of equilibrium. There may be polarity without disturbance of equilibrium, or menace to peace. It is possible that some of us may live to see a racial fusion in South Africa. In a ‘History of the Great Boer Trek,’ written by the late Hon. Henry Cloete, LL.D., Her Majesty’s High Commissioner for Natal, a hopeful forecast of the ultimate results of the present war has been made by the author’s grandson and editor, who writes : ‘In Natal it was found that war, instead of accentuating race hatred, laid the foundation of enduring peace.’

As to the native races, whatever the far future

may bring, at present it is satisfactory to know that a general desire for the success of our arms was, during the war, exhibited by Kafir, Basuto, and the other tribes. The feeling was nearly universal that the interests of the natives were bound up with the triumph of the Imperial cause. The Kafir knows well, for experience is the best teacher, that—even though he may be kept at arm's length by an Englishman, and may socially be treated with contempt—liberty and fair dealing, opportunity of education and of profitable industry, are secured to him under English rule, and denied under that of the Boer. Therefore, the interests of the natives, Christian and heathen alike, are, to speak in the most moderate terms, not in present conflict with those of the mother country.

If the expressions of loyalty recently heard from the lips of native Christian teachers and native assemblies be taken as representing the native mind in general, they give much hopeful assurance of the prevalence of a sense of unity of interest between native and Englishman. If they be held to be mainly the expression of the mind of the *Christianised* native, and to be the result of missionary teaching and education, can there be any hesitation felt as to the expediency, even for our own interests, of more earnest efforts for the conversion to Christianity and the Church of the native tribes? ¹²³

¹²³ The picture, given by Canon Farmer in his *The Transvaal as*

The social future of the native races remains a question full of unknown possibilities ; and who dare venture on a forecast of the relation of their interests to ours a quarter of a century hence, when the education of the native has advanced, and he has attained to national self-consciousness and a sense of the power of his millions ?

For all these reasons the Imperial problem of these colonies is a difficult one. The three main elements of stability are wanting ; the nationality difficulty appears the most formidable. But as the nationality problem has been solved in Canada, which, at one time, exhibited racial discords which threatened our tenure of the great Dominion, so it may yet be solved in South Africa, even though the relative strength of the three parties is so different, and the analogy from Canadian history is so doubtful.

The ideal course which presents itself to the mind, and which, as it is in part closely connected with the duty of the Church, I think I may here express, is of this threefold kind. The first concerns itself with secular policy, the second and the third with religious :—

(1) The numerical difficulty of a Dutch nationality superior in strength to ours, should be gradually abolished by the encouragement and organisation of

Mission Field, of the extreme willingness shown by the Transvaal Kafirs to receive the ministrations of the Church (see Chap. iii. p. 20, *qq.*), is one to give ground for infinite hope.

emigration from Great Britain, and that not in the mining so much as in the agricultural districts. The spontaneous agency of intermarriage also will, in time, break down part of this difficulty.

(2) However unhopeful the prospect may now seem, at a period when passions are still fierce, Bishop Gray's statesmanlike suggestion of conferences between the English and Dutch Churches, with a view to mutual understanding and approach, might even yet be revived. Presbyterianism is not parted from the Church by any barrier so impassable as to place re-union wholly out of the region of hope. If only sympathy and mutual understanding led the way, opinion, conviction, and action might follow. The English Church must beware of giving the impression that she holds that truth and grace are confined to her ministrations. This unwarrantable theory is to be often heard from the lips of zealous young preachers irresponsible and reckless. It is never heard in the language of men like Bishop Gray, or of the leaders of the South African Church of to-day. The position of the great Dutch Church is one which demands our respect, and many of its labours our admiration. But a sisterhood between the two leading communions of South Africa may yet be fostered by Christian love and wisdom on both sides, with a prospect, perhaps far off, but to be realised in God's time, of some bond closer still than that of sisterhood.

(3) And lastly—and here there is no real hindrance but our own sloth and want of generosity in men and means—a more universal and well-supported attempt must be made, however costly it may be, for the evangelisation of the native tribes all over South Africa.

On the first and second of these I shall say no more. The first lies outside the province of this Lecture, the second may be repudiated by those whose high Anglicanism goes far beyond that of the high Anglican, Robert Gray. On the missionary question it may be interesting to give some information, pointing to the probable results of a forward policy. For as yet we have heard of no tribes converted as a whole, and officially, through their chiefs, bowing their necks, as in Canada, under the yoke of Christ.

The Christianising of native South Africa is no small undertaking. But the experience of the past half-century fills us with the conviction that it is in no sense an unhopeful one.

I gladly quote hopeful words from Mr. Bryce's 'Impressions' on this subject. 'Notwithstanding the slowness of the progress hitherto made, the extinction of heathenism in South Africa may be deemed certain, and certain at no distant date. There is here no ancient and highly organised system of beliefs and doctrines, such as Hinduism and Islam are in India, to resist the solvent power which

European civilisation exerts. In forty years there will probably be no more pagan rites practised in Cape Colony. In eighty years there will be none in Matabililand, or perhaps even sooner, if the gold reefs turn out well; for though a mining camp is not a school of Christianity, it is a destroyer of paganism.' Again: 'A race in the present condition of the Kafirs needs nothing more than the creation of a body of intelligent and educated persons of its own blood, who are able to enter into the difficulties of their humbler kinsfolk and guide them wisely.' 'The Basutos are an industrious and settled population, among whom Christianity has made great progress.' 'The Kafirs will lose their heathenism, and will become, in name at least, Christians. Thus they will form to a far greater extent than now a homogeneous mass, pervaded by the same ideas and customs.'¹²⁴

The vastness of the heathen population is scarcely realised by many at home. The most accurate official statements show how enormously the aggregate of Kafir, Zulu, Hottentot, Basuto, Bechuana, Matabili, Pondo, Barralong, Fingo, Swazi, outnumber the white population. In Cape Colony the number of the natives may be set down as 1,200,000, out of a population of 1,600,000. In Basutoland there are some 220,000 inhabitants, of whom only 600 are Europeans. Bechuanaland, which became

¹²⁴ See *The Spectator*, January 12, 1901, pp. 797-8.

British territory in 1888, has a population of about 200,000, almost entirely natives. In northern Rhodesia there are probably 650,000, of whom but some 400 are Europeans. In Southern Rhodesia dwell 430,000 Matabili and Mashona.

Natal, which comprises the dioceses of Natal and part of Zululand, out of a total population of 903,000, has but 56,000 Europeans. The native Zulu and Kafir number three-quarters of a million, and Indian coolies and others, whose number increases so rapidly as at times to threaten to menace the interests of the colony, are set down as 61,000.

In the British Protectorate on the Zambesi, lying outside Rhodesia, there are estimated to be 845,000 natives. If to these you add the native population of the late Transvaal and Orange Free State, 800,000 in all (451,800 natives of the Transvaal paid hut tax in 1890), you arrive at a total of the native tribes of between four and five millions.¹²⁵

That these millions will gain in intellectual power and prosperity under our rule, always provided that we do not demoralise them by our fatal gift of strong drink, and sap their vitality by introducing the vices of civilisation, none will deny. The policy of repression, were we disposed to attempt it, would be destined to ignominious failure. That a

¹²⁵ The above figures are compiled from the *Statesman's Year-book*, 1900.

tendency to more and more general acceptance of our religion as well as of our sway prevails, is undoubtedly.¹²⁶ The work of the Church among the tribes which she has been able to approach with the greatest freedom (and where English vice has least been presented to the native eyes) has been already crowned with much success. The like experience must be recorded of the work of other Churches actively and successfully engaged in missions in South Africa. In missionary villages and institutions, on missionary farms, and by means of missionary schools and English and native clergy or teachers, large numbers have been christianised, and their development in Christian character is but a question of time. It is a matter for great regret that many settlers, indifferent to the spiritual duty of missions, are sarcastic or hostile, because they do not find the Christian Kafir, fresh from countless centuries of heathendom, a model of the Christian virtues. It is to be feared that great apathy, or cruel prejudice, exists among many churchpeople in the colonies on the subject of the Church's duty to the heathen. The report of the Committee on Missions to the last South African Provincial Synod said that 'the Committee felt strongly that there was still a great lack of sympathy with such work

¹²⁶ The absorption into the Church of the 'Order of Ethiopia' is another encouraging sign of the times. See *S.P.G. Mission Field* for March 1901, pp. 92-94; *S.P.C.K. Monthly Report*, January 1901.

among many members of the Church ; and it felt further that the extension of Christ's kingdom in this country was being hindered to a very considerable degree by the prejudices against missionary work which existed among many churchpeople.' But in spite of apathy on the part of the average colonist, the Church's missions are advancing.

A few examples only can be given of the success of missionary work among the people. I take only those of our own Church through the S.P.G. In Zululand the principal native congregations number ten, with many out-stations. At one station alone —Rorke's Drift—there are 7,000 adherents, 3,800 being baptised Church members. In this district Archdeacon Johnson's labours have been crowned with remarkable blessing. In the district of Keiskamma-hoek in Grahamstown, there are about 2,300 baptised, and 1,000 confirmed members. In St. John's, Kaffraria, there are over 7,500 Church members. In Durban the Indian mission alone yields 2,000 children to our schools.

The native Christians form no inconsiderable portion of the Church in Kaffraria, in Cape Colony, in the Transvaal, and in the Orange Colony.¹²⁷ Basutoland was occupied in 1875, after repeated invitations addressed to our Church by the chief, Moshesh.¹²⁸ The congregations in our eight churches

¹²⁷ For testimony to their loyalty, see Note XIII.

¹²⁸ See Note XIV.

there number about 4,000, of whom 1,100 are communicants. In recent confirmation tours, some of the bishops report that three-fourths of the candidates were natives.

But what of the future?—for these people have a future, as surely as the people of Japan, whose development is causing so much just anxiety to the Church lest social and intellectual advance should outrun moral and religious. Japan does not lie on our conscience as South Africa does. It has not been given into our hands by Divine Providence, as has been South Africa, to rule as part of the Kingdom of Christ.

The words of Canon Scott Holland, at a late meeting of the Universities' Central African Mission, apply to these southern colonies as well :

'Can anybody contemplate anything more awful than that this enormous continent, with all its vast full-blooded populations, should pass over to civilisation, as it must, and yet be pagan and Mohammedan, with the weight and blight and curse of Mohammedanism [and paganism] on it for ever? It would be enough to shatter the civilisation of Europe that such a thing should occur. It is the duty of the Catholic Church to see that this does not happen. And it shall not happen if we be loyal to the Christ—to Him who claims the whole of the great African continent as His own; loyal to Him who has waited through all these long centuries of

lust and murder, crime and tyranny, . . . for the light to break over that dark continent.'

What is our ideal of the new and united South Africa? The nation has not yet distinctly formulated it. Even though, on the whole, our rule, wherever it has come, has made for righteousness, we dare not boast, but rather hold our peace for shame that, with our blessings, we have so often brought our sins and vices to those who before our coming had known neither. Those whose idol is Self abound. Material interests dominate the thoughts and purposes of most of those who are concerned in the development of the country. There are innumerable churchpeople in these colonies whose religion is but in name. It is, therefore, the duty of the teachers of the Church to lift up their voices with strength and declare to our own people first their sins and their duties. It is religion that must show the way, and teach the colonist to take up the white man's burden—the raising of lower races in the scale of civilisation and freedom, of purity and peace. Whatever duty God is laying on the nation in this time of deep anxiety and of enlarged responsibility, it is clearly the duty of the Church adequately to provide for the pastoral care of her own scattered people, and to promote a real and vigorous religion free from formalism and party spirit. It must also strengthen in all directions evangelistic and educational missions

to the South African heathen. If this is to be done, unstinted support, much beyond that which has been customary, must be given to that great Society which represents the English and Irish Churches at the front, to whose hands the missionary and much of the pastoral work of the Church in South Africa has been committed, and which approaches us with peculiar force of appeal at the conclusion of the two-hundredth year of its world-wide labours.

If, besides this, we should, in God's good time, also find it possible to promote some happy alliance with the older Church of the colony, partly as a means to, partly as a result of, the growth of sympathy; if we enlarge our hearts, and pray God to show us the time and the way to draw closer the bonds which, even now, secretly unite all true labourers for Christ; if, in other Mission Fields, as now in Central Africa, Blantyre and Likoma learn to understand and to love one another, and hands are mutually extended in a grasp of friendship across the difficult barrier of traditions cherished long on both sides, religion will have done her part both to gather in fresh peoples into the fold of Christ, and to make the voice of Christianity, strengthened ten-fold by reunion, a power in the land.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ See Appendix.

VIII

THE CHURCH IN THE LESSER COLONIAL POSSESSIONS

BRITISH HONDURAS, a Crown colony, is in the Province of the West Indies. The Church population is but of small extent ; but important and growing work is being done on the Isthmus of Panama. The bishop is a graduate of Dublin University.

Bermuda, in the diocese of Newfoundland. The Church here owns obligations, and makes yearly remittances, to the S.P.G. ; Church population, 10,627. The Bishop of Newfoundland spends alternate winters in this part of his diocese.

Fiji (gross area, 7,451 square miles, in 200 to 250 islands of the South Pacific) ; discovered in 1643. Wesleyan missionaries settled here in 1835, and did much good, turning the inhabitants from cannibalism. Sovereignty was ceded to England in 1874. In 1870 an Australian clergyman was sent to minister to the considerable Church of England population. Much opposition was offered by the Wesleyans, though their work had previously only been addressed to the heathen. Mr. Floyd, the

clergyman, a county Wexford man, suffered much in 1871. Sir Arthur Gordon, in 1879, drew attention to the open door for Church missionaries here. A visit of Bishop Selwyn greatly strengthened the Church in the same year. The S.P.G. sent Mr. A. Poole, who was ordained to minister to the English-speaking people, and Bishop Selwyn established a *modus vivendi* with the Wesleyans. In 1884 a rich resident proposed to endow a bishopric for Fiji (see p. 100). This has not yet been accomplished. At Levuka, Polynesian and Chinese coolies are being gathered into Christ's fold in numbers. The Rev. W. Floyd has been seeking to reach the Hindu coolies also. His good work has been going on for nearly thirty years.

British New Guinea.—Although not part of the General Synod of Australia and Tasmania, the episcopal oversight of New Guinea is connected with the Australian Church, and provision is being gradually made for the evangelisation of the country.

West Africa (Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Lagos).—Missionary work here is chiefly in the hands of the C.M.S., whose devoted missionaries have in numbers here laid down their lives for Christ and His Gospel. Native bishops and clergy have been trained and are at work, and many have been brought into the Church. The Hinterland is much disturbed and unsettled, and troubles

have from time to time been felt in the Church also. The colony is only occupied by such English residents as purposes of trade, war, or evangelisation oblige to live in what has been called the 'White man's grave.'

The East and Central African Protectorate (Somaliland, East Africa, Witu, Uganda, Zanzibar, British Central Africa).—Three most efficient societies—the C.M.S., the Universities' Mission, and the (Nonconformist) Blantyre Mission—occupy with earnest, and in many cases successful, labours, these lands, in which the English population is only an infinitesimal part of the whole.

Mauritius.—The colony is not strictly a Crown colony, having some representative members of Government and Executive. The population is chiefly Roman Catholic. In Government schools about 71 per cent. are Roman Catholics; 25 per cent. Hindu and Mohammedan; Church of England but 2·96 per cent. Mauritius has an independent bishop of our Church, and is not included in the South African Province. There are about twenty-four clergy of the Church, of whom seven are S.P.G. workers; 1,000*l.* a year is paid by the S.P.G. to the diocese. The Church membership, nearly all Hindu and Tamil, is about nine thousand. In the Seychelles is also a S.P.G. missionary, with six hundred and seventy Church members.

Ascension.—A small garrison lives here of about

four hundred souls. It is a valuable and now highly fortified coaling-station. *Tristan d'Acunha*—*St. Helena*.—The three islands are in the bishopric of St. Helena, where a bishop has a difficult work indeed, not only physically, on account of the geographical conditions of the diocese—apparent at a glance on the map—but spiritually, on account of Church disputes not yet healed. St. Helena has received fresh attention in connection with its recent use as a prison for Boer prisoners of war. There are three Church clergy on the island, and a Church membership of about 1,860. The general state of morality on St. Helena is described as very unsatisfactory.

Straits Settlements.—The chief of our Crown colonies. The population, chiefly Chinese and Malay, is 512,000. The Bishop of Singapore, Labuan, and Sarawak, presides over the Church. There are about fifteen clergy, four of them native, about 3,500 baptised members of the Church, and about 1,000 scholars, mostly unbaptised.

Hong-Kong.—(The island, a Crown colony, is about thirty-one square miles in extent, and lies close to the mainland, with the city of Victoria stretching along the shore. The harbour is one of the finest in the world. Population about 224,000, of whom 10,000 are European.) The Bishop of Victoria presides over the Church, which is manned chiefly

by C.M.S. missionaries. St. John's Cathedral is in Hong-Kong. There are 8,500 scholars in Government schools, besides 2,900 in private. There are three churches for the English, and there are 450 baptised Chinese. The *diocese* extends from the Pacific Coast to the West of China. In this diocese are the interesting C.M.S. Missions of Kwangtung and Fuh-kien. A travelling chaplain has been appointed to visit the English in the Treaty Ports.

Falkland Islands.—The bishop has jurisdiction over all English missionaries and chaplains in South America outside British Guiana.

* * * *

Outside the Colonial Empire, the Church is represented by twenty-five missionary bishops, as follows :—

In India,¹³⁰ ten bishops ; in China and Japan, eight ; in Africa, seven ; in Jerusalem, one ; in Honolulu, one. The transference of this diocese to the Church of the United States, which has annexed the Hawaiian Islands, will date October, 1901. The population is increasing. Japanese and Chinese are coming in in considerable numbers. Christianity does not seem to be strengthening here, and many converts have lapsed.

¹³⁰ *India and Burmah*.—For history of Christian Missions in India, see Prebendary Tucker, *Under His Banner*.

NOTES

NOTES TO LECTURE I

NOTE I.—Many of the stalls in Truro Cathedral are dedicated to the memory of Irish saints of the fifth and sixth centuries, who came from Ireland to Cornwall for the purpose of evangelising, or of founding churches or monasteries. One of the most interesting of these names is that of St. Germoc (Germochus), said to have been an Irish king or regulus of the fifth century, a convert of St. Patrick. About 450 he was consecrated Bishop. He came with St. Ia and others, landed in St. Ives Bay, and with his sister was spared in a massacre of the whole party by the heathen tyrant Tewdar at Hayle. He placed his seat on the east shore of Mount's Bay, where a church in his name still stands. Reciprocally, on the strand of Clear Island, co. Cork, there are still remains of a yet earlier church, St. Kieran's, founded (?) by British Christians. See Olden, 'Church of Ireland,' p. 10. For an account of Irish saints before St. Patrick, of whom St. Kieran (according to some, but it is very doubtful) was one, see Ussher, 'Britt. Eccles. Antiq.' Works, vol. vi. p. 332, *seq.*, where no doubt fact and legend are blended. This Kieran, or Cieran, or Keverne, or Cheranus, is the Cornish St. Pieran, or Perran, whose name is perpetuated in the very ancient church of Perranzabuloe, or St. Kieran of the sands. (Borlase, *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 388.)

NOTE II.—Amandus, Bishop, A.D. 627, without a fixed diocese. He chose the country of the Scheldt, and after some successes as preacher, he allowed a fanatical zeal to injure his influence. He obtained a commission from Dagobert, authorising him to use force to compel the pagans to be baptised. The Frankish soldiery were called to the assistance of the Christian preacher. Later, by wiser and more gentle methods, and, it is said, by the aid of miracle, he persuaded many to submit to the Cross. In 646 he became Bishop of Maestricht, where thirty-

three more years of usefulness were spent in unflagging missionary labour.

NOTE III.—Reg. Columb. cii.: ‘Quotidie jejunandum est, sicut quotidie orandum, quotidie legendum, quotidie laborandum.’ What the study was may appear from what Jonas, his biographer, wrote of Columbanus, that even in his youth he wrote a book on the interpretation of the Psalms. His love of the Scriptures, and desire that his followers should love them too, are illustrated by the incident of the dying Burgundo, one of the virgins under his rule, who required in her last illness that a light should be kept burning all night, that the Scriptures should be read to her.

NOTE IV.—The date given by Ussher is different. See ‘Sylloge Vet. Epp. Hib.,’ in vol. iv. p. 430. A fine testimony to the gratitude of the foreigner to Irish missionaries occurs in Egilward’s ‘Life of St. Burchard:’ ‘Scotia quondam bruta, nunc in Christo prudentissima, nobis lumen nostrum primitivum destinavit Killianum, Burgundis Columbanum, Alamannis Gallum.’ (*Ap. Ussher, ut sup.*). The story of the life of Columbanus is told, with all his accustomed pictorial grace, by Montalembert (‘Monks of the West,’ vol. xvi.). It seems open to question whether the labours of the Irish missionary, Fridolin, Abbot of Seckingen on the Rhine, belong to the age of Clovis the First (481–511), or to that of Clovis the Third (691–695).

NOTE V.—Dr. Waltenbach, in ‘Quast and Otto’s Journal,’ 1856, writes: ‘When the Merovingian kingdom fell away into distractions, which daily increased . . . it was at this time that Ireland almost alone afforded a refuge for the remnants of the old civilisation; and when the Anglo-Saxons were converted to Christianity by Rome (?) they crossed over to the sacred isle in multitudes, to become scholars under those celebrated teachers in the monasteries of the Scots. Some occasional Franks also came to them over the sea.’

NOTE VI.—Letronne, quoted by Reeves in the ‘Ulster Journal of Archæology,’ 1859, p. 230, says: ‘Elle [Irlande] était, au huitième siècle, plus éclairée—je veux dire, moins barbare—qu’aucune autre contrée européenne.’ But Waltenbach

describes the earlier Irish pilgrim missionaries as grotesquely dressed, and with painted eyelids.

NOTE VII.—Quoted by Ussher, iv. 388 : “ Ibique duodecim annos inter eximios simul piae religionis et sacrae lectionis magistros, futurus multorum populorum praedicator, eruditiebatur.” Haec in primo de vita Willibrordi libro, Alcuinus, et in secundi initio :—

“ Venerat occiduis quidam de finibus orbis
Vir virtute potens, divino plenus amore,
Ore sagax, et mente vigil, et fervidus actu ;
Ad te, temporibus Pippini, Francia Felix ;
Quem tibi jam genuit fecunda Britannia mater
Doctaque nutritivit studiis sed Hibernia sacris,
Nomine Willibrordus.” ’

NOTE VIII.—For interesting details of the opposition of Boniface to Irish Church influences, see Neander, v. 62; Gieseler, ii. 218. The words of the latter careful historian are: ‘The chief traits in the character of Boniface are an exaggerated notion of the external unity of the Church, and obedience to its statutes, as well as a deep reverence for the Roman see, without which he undertook nothing. As he himself sought for ecclesiastical laws, even for the most indifferent actions of daily life, so was he severe and persecuting against all who departed from Roman ecclesiastical regulations, as in the instance of the two clergymen, Adelbert and Clement [the former of whom seems to have been a mixture of impostor and fanatic, the latter an Irishman of piety and purity of doctrine]. Thus he bound the new German Church to Rome still more firmly than the English was.’ It is only just to mention in this place that he appointed at least one Irishman to a see. ‘Albuin [Witan or Whitus] egressus de Hibernia, praedicationis causa, venit in Thuringiam, 742, ubi a Bonifacio primus Barbaranae sive Buraburgensis ecclesiae episcopus est constitutus.’ This Witan is called ‘discipulus suus Hiberniensis’ (Ussher). Nor was this Boniface’s only appointment of an Irishman to a see.

NOTE IX.—For the history and details of the Danish mission, see Neander, vol. vi. 1-28; of Sweden, *ib.* 28-31; of Norway,

ib. 31-39. Those were rude days, and evangelisation often employed rude methods. The statements in the text are borne out by Neander as cited. Gieseler, in his condensed way, bears the like testimony to the influence of English Christians on the Scandinavian peoples. Vol. ii. ch. vii. sect. 37: 'In Norway, Christianity,' he writes, 'had been *first introduced from England.*' In Denmark, 'Cnut the Great completed the work [of conversion] *by means of English priests.*'

NOTE X.—A curious link between the Churches of Ireland and Iceland appears in a passage quoted in the 'Ulster Journal of Archæology,' July, 1859, from the 'Landnamabok': 'Before that Iceland was inhabited by the Norwegians there were men there called by the Norwegians "Papae," who professed the Christian religion, and were believed to have arrived over the sea from the west, for Irish books which were left behind them, bells and croziers, and many such articles, were found, which seemed to indicate that they were west men.' It does not quite appear how Ireland is here spoken of as to the west of Iceland; probably the west of *Norway* is intended. In a rare book in Icelandic and Latin: 'Kristni saga sive Historia Religionis Christianae in Islandiam introductae,' Hafniae, 1773 (cap. vi.), we read: 'A.D. 995, Rex Olafus ex Irlandia orientem versus in Holmgardiam tendit, inde Norvegium reversus est, ut in vita ejus scriptum est, ibique universum populum ad Christianismum excitavit.' Dr. Waltenbach, in the 'Journal' already quoted, Note V, wrote: 'The Irish filled England and the neighbouring islands; even in Iceland their books and pilgrim staves were found in later times.' Concerning St. Erculphus and St. Buo, Irish missionaries to Thule or Iceland, see Colgan, 'Acta SS.,' 241, 256. He quotes Dicuil, who wrote in 825, and who records that thirty years before, *i.e.* 795, certain clerics who had sojourned in Thule had given him an account of the continual light of the summer solstice, so that at midnight they could see to remove certain objectionable visitors from their underclothing (*vel pediculos de camisia abstrahere*). This touch has the warranty of genuineness. Speaking of the Faroe Islands, Dicuil adds that for a hundred years back, 'eremitae ex nostra Scottia navigantes habitaverunt.'

NOTE XI.—In the ‘*Invective*’ of Gildas, an awful charge is brought against the morals of the British Church. And yet it was even then (about the beginning of the fifth century) sending missionaries to the north. The serious difficulties which surround the personality and date or dates of Gildas are treated fully in the ‘*Dictionary of Christian Biography*.’

NOTES TO LECTURE II

NOTE I.—In 1900 there were 241 dioceses (including Missionary Sees) connected with the Anglican Communion. Of these England had 35; Ireland 13; Scotland 7; United States of America 87; our Colonies and Missions, 99. Almost yearly one or even more has of late years been added, as extension and subdivision follow the labours of the Church.

NOTE II.—The Cathedral of Mexico is the largest and most sumptuous church in America. It faces the north side of the Plaza, on the site of the great pyramidal teocalli or Temple of Huitzilopochtli, titular god of the Aztecs. This edifice was founded in 1573, and finished only in 1657, at a cost of 400,000*l.* for the walls alone. It forms in plan a Greek cross, 426 feet by 203 feet. It has two great naves and three aisles. There are twenty side-chapels, and a magnificent high altar supported on marble columns, and surrounded by a balustrade, with sixty-two statues of rich gold, silver, and copper, serving as candelabra. The elaborately carved choir is enclosed by noble railings made in Macao, and weighing twenty-six tons, and valued at 300,000*l.* There are two towers 218 feet high, and a lofty dome. At the foot of the left tower is placed the famous calendar stone, the most interesting relic of Aztec culture. The Plaza San Domingo contains the convent of that name, with vast treasures buried within its walls. There was the old Inquisition. Now it has become a custom-house and a school of medicine.

NOTE III.—Prescott writes, of the aims of Ferdinand and Isabella: ‘Paramount to all other objects in their schemes of

discovery, with the Queen at least, was the propagation of Christianity among the natives. She neglected no means for the furtherance of this good work through the agency of missionaries exclusively devoted to it.'

NOTE IV.—Hakluyt records how Wolfall, on Winter's Fornace, preached and celebrated the Holy Communion on the land. 'This celebration of the Divine Mystery was the first sign, seal, and confirmation of Christ's name, death, and Passion ever known in these quarters.' Heriot has been described by enemies as without sincere religion. On his monument, however, in the church of St. Christopher, destroyed in the Fire of London, was the inscription: 'Dei Triniunius Cultor Piissimus.'

NOTE V.—The state of the Church at this time was lamentable. The Rev. Morgan Godwyn was a clergyman, first in Virginia and later in Barbados. His testimony as to the Church has been preserved. One extract from a letter to Berkeley may be given:—

'The ministers here are most miserably handled by their Plebeian juntos, the vestries, to whom the hiring (that is the usual word here) and admission of ministers is solely left. And there being no law obliging them to any more than to procure a lay reader (to be obtained at a very moderate rate), they either resolve to have none at all, or to reduce them to their own terms, that is, to use them how they please, pay them what they list, and to discard them whosoever they have a mind to it. And this is the recompense of their leaving their hopes in England (far more considerable to the meanest curate, than what can possibly be apprehended here) . . . to venture their lives amongst, &c.'

NOTE VI.—Pennsylvania was at first a Swedish and Dutch colony; but after its cession to England in 1664 it became the place of settlement of a large society of Friends or Quakers, led thither by William Penn. The state of religion there was some years afterwards not creditable to that respectable body; and when the S.P.G. entered on its work in 1701, scarcely any one went to any place of worship. The success of the earlier

missionaries here was most marked. Great numbers of the Quakers were baptised. Within a few years the settlers were building churches, and the churches were soon not large enough to contain those who flocked to hear God's Word. In New Jersey, a Danish colony, the Anabaptists long succeeded in preventing the entrance of the Church missionaries.

NOTE VII.—The Dutch settled New York in 1610 as *Nova Belgia*. The colony became a refuge for persecuted Protestants from abroad. The war with Holland gave the colony to England in the reign of Charles II. On the entrance of the S.P.G. to this colony, the earliest missionaries found religion in utter decay; but there was a welcome for those who brought the word of God. When Rev. George Keith first officiated (September 27, 1702), there was such a multitude of people that the church could not hold them, so that many stood at the doors and windows to hear, who desired that a Church of England minister should be settled among them. From the first the Church flourished in this colony. The Rector of Trinity Church, in the city of New York, who had come four years before the Society began its labours, reported that, except for that church, one in the fort, and one each in Philadelphia and Boston, he 'did not believe that there was one building erected for the services of the Church of England on this northern continent of America, from Maryland to the easternmost bounds of Nova Scotia, which is in length 800 miles.' By 1745 churches had arisen in all directions, congregations were good, and very great numbers of the native Indians had been baptised.

NOTE VIII.—*New England*.—A charter was granted by the New England Company to a body of Puritans who had fled to Holland to escape persecution in England for their religious opinions. The charter is dated 1619. On September 6, 1620, a hundred of these sailed from Plymouth, and landed at Cape Cod, after binding themselves by a covenant and code of laws which did not take into consideration the fact that they were English subjects. John Carver was chosen the first governor. These 'Pilgrim Fathers' had a high purpose and dauntless energy.

It is doubtful whether the ideal of Mrs. Hemans had much to justify it in their conduct of religious matters :

They have left unstained what there they found—
Freedom to worship God.

A rigorous religious despotism was soon set up. The colonists made it a *sine quâ non* of all settlers that no one should be allowed to worship according to the rites of the Church of England. ‘They resolved never to allow an hierarchy to intrude on their devotions in the forests of Massachusetts.’ Their new home prospered, but their religious intolerance prevailed for a long time. The victims of persecution became themselves persecutors. Little by little, nevertheless, the Church obtained a footing in one or two places, and when the S.P.G. began its labours, and sent out Mr. Keith, there were two Church of England clergy in New England. The ministry of Mr. Keith, and of a fellow-worker, Rev. G. Muirson, attracted not a few. In vain the authorities threatened with fines and imprisonment any who went to hear the Church clergy preach. Opposition seemed to stimulate these sturdy people to take their own way ; and so it came to pass that some twenty dissenting ministers and laymen became clergy of the Church, and before the Society relinquished its work, at the time of the War of Independence, it had occupied, in New England alone, seventy-eight stations, and had employed eighty-three missionaries. The sufferings of the loyal clergy at that time were excessive ; several died of exposure and misfortune. But the Society and the Church which it represented had done a fine work. Among the men who came over to the Church in the early part of the eighteenth century were Mr. Samuel Seabury, father of the future Bishop of Connecticut, and later, Dr. Bass, first Bishop of Massachusetts. The first Church of England church was erected in Boston, and that only by order of the King in Council, in 1679.

NOTE IX.—In harmony with this honourable testimony from a very impartial source, a sermon is preserved, preached by the Bishop before King Charles I. in 1625, from which I think it important to give a quotation :—

‘There lieth a great guilte on Christian States that they have not beeene carefull to bring them that sitte in darkness to the

knowledge of Christ and his Gospelle. Much travelling there is to the Indies East and West, but wherefore? Some goe to possess themselves of the lands of the infidels, but mostly by commerce to grow richer by their goodes. But where is the prince or state that pitith their soules, and without any worldly respect endeavoureth the gaining them to God? Some shewe we make, but it is a poore one, for it is but a *parergon*, an accessorie to our worldly desire; *ergon*, it is not; it is not our primary intention. Whereas Christ sayth, "First seeke ye the Kingdom of God and His righteousnesse, and all other thinges shall bee added unto you." If Apostles and Apostolicke men had affected oure saluation no more, wee might have continued until this day such as sometime wee were.'

NOTE X.—It is remarkable that it was precisely at this time that in the French Church the Abbé Paulmyer, Canon of Bayeux, submitted to Pope Alexander VII. a scheme for a missionary society, to be composed of people of all classes, for the conversion of 'le troisième monde.' A century and a half, however, passed away ere his plan was realised in the founding of the French 'Séminaire des Missions étrangères,' which, in 1820 and 1822, took definite form, and now has an income exceeding 200,000*l.* per annum. The foundation of the French *Protestant* Bible Society dates from almost the same year as that of our British and Foreign Bible Society.

NOTE XI.—The story has been told by M. Cochrane in the 'Two Hundredth Birthday of S.P.C.K.:' ' . . . Arriving at his destination, Dr. Bray found that the half had not been told. Hundreds of miles separated the clergy (of Virginia and Maryland). Left without elevating outside influences, who can wonder that some of the lonely men fell morally and socially? Without spiritual help, without episcopal visitation, without religious intercourse, without books, surrounded by settlers who, for the most part, had but one idea of enjoyment—a vicious drunken revel—and by gangs of white slaves whose crimes had procured their emigration . . . strong indeed must have been the spiritual life that could shine brightly in such an atmosphere.' The experience gained on that visit by the earnest Dr. Bray was the motive power which soon set on foot the S.P.C.K.

to supply the colonists with books, and the S.P.G. to supply them with clergy. The Act 'For the Better Preservation of Parochial Libraries,' 7 Anne, c. xiv. (1708), was passed at Bray's instigation, and is still part of the statute law of the land. The Bray Libraries are under the control of a body known as the Associates of Dr. Bray; the Archbishop of Canterbury is the president. The condition of the Bray Libraries leaves a good deal to be desired. No fewer than 160 of them, founded at various dates between 1750 and 1850, are 'no longer existing,' some of them being transferred to other places, but the majority 'lost.' There are about 156 libraries existing in England and Wales, and over 150 in different colonies and foreign possessions; many of them seem to have been 'augmented' in recent years, and are, therefore, probably well used. The funds controlled by the Associates are, apparently, about 4,800*l.* in amount, besides 64*l.* a year or so received in subscriptions.

NOTE XII.—The first annual report of the S.P.G. (which has been reprinted) deals mainly with the openings for the conversion of the Indians. This is a sufficient refutation of the charge that the one aim of the Society is the support of the Church among colonists.

NOTE XIII.—There are within the United States of America eleven missionary bishoprics, and abroad the five sees are those of Hayti, Cape Palmas, Shanghai, Tokio, and Brazil. Friction is avoided in Japan and China by a mutual arrangement between the Church of England and the Episcopal Church of America. The subject was discussed, and resolutions arrived at, at the Lambeth Conference, 1897. (See Report, Resolutions 24, 25.)

NOTE XIV.—The Society has sometimes been charged with admitting men among its missionaries who hold very advanced Church views, and supporters of the Society who do not sympathise with such views have been charged with inconsistency because they have given subscriptions to maintain missions where doctrines may be made prominent which they do not hold. It is a slander to bring against the Venerable Society an accusation of any Romeward sympathies. It is a fact that, while 106 accessions to the ranks of its missionary clergy had

been recorded up to 1892 from other churches and religious bodies (10 from Rome and 96 from Protestant Dissent), during the long period of its existence the Society has had to lament the defection to Rome of two only. The C.M.S. has had the like cross to bear. Of its ordained missionaries, out of a total of nearly 4,200, seventeen only have been dismissed for misconduct. The foundation principle of the Society identifies it with the Church, and not with any section or party in the Church. Its supporters must therefore be prepared to tolerate within its ranks any who can be tolerated within the ranks of the Church of England. It is, indeed, a wide limit; but it cannot be narrowed without upsetting the charter and the whole foundation of the Society. Those men of strong Evangelical views who find fault with the presence of some extreme men in the ranks of the missionaries would better promote the cause which they have so much at heart by identifying themselves fully with the Society, enrolling themselves among its incorporated members, which gives voting power, and making their influence felt in the annual election of the Standing Committee, than by holding aloof and finding fault. The Church Missionary Society, in its admirable review of the 'Hundred Years' ending in 1898, makes the following acknowledgments: 'The S.P.G. [in the last century] did a noble work among the Indians and negroes of the American colonies—the present United States—one of its clergy, for two years, being the great John Wesley. It also sent a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge—the Rev. T. Thompson—to the British trading settlement on the Gold Coast, and a negro boy, baptised by the name of Philip Quaque, and sent to be educated in England, was ultimately ordained to be his successor. To the S.P.G., therefore, belongs the honour of having sent the first English missionary to Africa, and of having on its roll the first of any non-European race since the Reformation to receive Anglican orders.' Recognition is also given to the fact that the S.P.G. led the way in opening all meetings with prayer. Also that it suggested the holding the annual day of intercession for missions (pp. 50, 51). 'In South Africa we find no C.M.S. missionary; but we find the S.P.G. and many others working in the hardest of all fields—the borderland of native barbarism and European civilisation' (p. 167).

NOTES TO LECTURE III

NOTE I.—*Canada.*—Champlain founded at Quebec the first French settlement in 1612. The first body of French emigrants landed in Nova Scotia in 1598; the first French bishop was appointed in 1670. At the cession to England in 1763, the population was said to be 69,000, of whom but a dozen or two of families were English. (See ‘British America’ in the ‘British Empire Series,’ vol. iii. 51, 52.)

NOTE II.—The first Report of S.P.G., 1704, acknowledges the Jesuit labours: ‘The five nations of the Iroquois have been converted to some sort of Christian confession, by the French Jesuits chiefly.’ The Report quotes an Indian Sachem, or king of the Iroquois, in Albany, 1700, as saying: ‘I must say I am sorely beholden to the French of Canada for the light I received, to know there is a Saviour of mankind.’ Like witness is borne by Mr. H. Watson in his lecture on Quebec in vol. iii. of the ‘British Empire Series,’ p. 54.

NOTE III.—Emigration from the United Kingdom to all parts in 1815, 2,081; in 1820, 25,729; in 1830, 56,907; in 1840, 90,743; in 1850, 280,843. To North American colonies, in 1842, 54,123; in 1847, 109,680. The total number of emigrants who left British ports for British North America from 1815 to 1885 was 1,825,557. For an account of the widespread misery and depression following the Napoleonic wars, see Alison’s ‘History of Europe,’ i. 45: ‘No sooner was the peace concluded than distress, widespread and universal, was experienced in every part of the country, and in every branch of industry.’ At once emigration set in, to the great gain of Canada. A letter is before me, written in 1833, which sounds a contemporary note of alarm as to the excessive *Protestant* emigration from Ireland to Canada: ‘Emigration has increased to an alarming height. The Protestants of the country are annually departing in thousands from the land of their fathers, to uphold that religion which is so fearfully assailed at home. . . . There never was a time when Protestants were so circumstanced as they are now, in which their dearest rights are so assailed. . . . The tie which bound

them to their country is broken. Self-preservation obliges the Protestants to violate . . . the love of country, etc.' This was between the time of Catholic Emancipation and the passing of the Church Temporalities Act of 1833. Striking confirmation of the prevalence of this disquietude among loyal Protestants will be found in the first few numbers of the 'Dublin University Magazine' for 1832-1834. 'Society in Ireland,' writes Right Hon. J. T. Ball, of this time, in 'The Reformed Church in Ireland' [2nd ed. p. 240], 'was reduced to a condition that bordered upon, and was attended by, much of the evil of civil war.' It is clear that a considerable Protestant emigration to Canada resulted, which, if unfortunate for the balance of religions in Ireland, was of important service to the Church in the Dominion.

NOTE IV.—The following fourteen Canadian bishops were, previously to their consecration, on the missionary roll of the S.P.G.: Inglis, C.; Inglis, J.; Stanser, R., of Nova Scotia; Stewart, C., of Quebec; Strachan, J.; Bethune, A. N., of Toronto; Spencer, A. G., of Newfoundland; Bond, W. B., of Montreal; Hellmuth, I., of Huron; Lewis, J. T. (archbishop), of Ontario; Fauquier, F. D., of Algoma; Pinkham, W. C., of Saskatchewan; Fuller, T. B., of Niagara; Sillitoe, A. W., of New Westminster. To eleven Canadian dioceses the S.P.G. has given aid for endowment, and, to seven, annual grants in support of the bishop. Moosonee, Mackenzie River, Athabasca, and Selkirk have looked to the C.M.S. for the like help.

NOTE V.—The total expenditure of the S.P.C.K. on church work in Canada, down to 1899, amounted to about 140,000*l.*, not including book grants, which, during the same period, have amounted to about 30,000*l.* more. In 1895 a Church of England Institute was founded in Montreal, under the title of 'The Andrews Home,' and placed by the Bishop of Montreal at the disposal of the Canadian Church as a distributing point for immigrants. The Rev. Frederick Renaud is the Secretary, and the Home is in close connection with the S.P.C.K.

NOTE VI.—The Society was originally a *School Society*, founded by an individual who, in 1823, had had a wonderful

deliverance in a storm at sea, and who then and there devoted his fortune to the help of the Newfoundland Church. It has now twenty schools in Newfoundland, prosperous missions among the French Canadians, and many clergy, more or less subsidised from its funds, in several Canadian dioceses. A French mission church, organised by the Society, is now under diocesan management. It is reported to the Provincial Synod that, while directly aggressive work is not attempted, the 'Sabrevois Mission is one of advice and help for all inquiring Roman Catholics, who, among the people of the Lower Province, are not few.'

NOTE VII.—St. John's College is crippled by a debt of (in 1889) 9,500*l.* To pay off this, and raise a further endowment of 2,500*l.*, is the 'present need' most pressed by the good archbishop. The college had sixty-eight students in arts and theology. The University of Manitoba has four colleges in arts, belonging respectively to the Church of England, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Wesleyans.

NOTE VIII.—An interesting monograph on the Diocese of Mackenzie River, by its indefatigable bishop, Bompas, was published in 1898 by the S.P.C.K. The bishop has a great deal more to say of the physical, social, and historical facts of the region, than of his own many labours and hardships. But so did St. John, in writing his Gospel, suppress self.

NOTE IX.—The missions of the C.M.S. began in North-West Canada in 1822, and, by 1837, a Christian colony of the Cree and Soto tribes had been formed near the mouth of the Red River. John Horden's work began in 1851 on the Hudson's Bay. His diocese of Moosonee (founded 1872) embraces all the southern (S.W. to S.E.) shores of the Bay. The first native clergyman, the first-fruit of the mission, was Henry Budd, the first, in fact, of a considerable number of Indian clergymen labouring in Canada, some in the eastern dioceses. When Bishop G. J. Mountain visited, in 1844, the settlement at Fort Garry, he found four churches, attended by 1,700 persons, and nine schools with 485 scholars. He confirmed 846 persons. The communicants numbered 456; but in two of the churches there

was no Holy Table. It was Bishop Mountain's strong representation of the wants of the Church which led, in 1849, to the founding of the See of Rupertsland. This is now an archiepiscopal see, with ten suffragan sees. The S.P.G. entered this field of work in 1850, and has employed 125 missionaries, besides 46 in British Columbia. In 1870 the population of Winnipeg was 300; in 1899, 40,000.

NOTE X.—Authoritative complaints of slackness in missionary feeling come before us in Diocesan, Provincial, and General Synod reports. In the last report of the Diocesan Synod of Montreal, strong words are used: 'Again and again fields of work have presented themselves; faithful, devoted men have offered themselves to occupy them, and again and again such opportunities have been lost, because the power of the Board was limited by the insignificant missionary income placed at its disposal. Surely it is time for the whole Church (bishops, clergy, and laity) to ask itself how long such a state of lost opportunities shall be characteristic of the Canadian Church, and whether we should transfer into the opening century, so close to us, that pettiness of aim and paltriness of effort which honesty compels us to acknowledge is characteristic of the century about to die.' It is important that Foreign Missions should have a large share of attention. But it seems to many that for the Canadian Church there still remains a great work, too much neglected, in the extension of the Church on the vast plains of their northern continent, and to the Indian tribes of the North-West.

NOTE XI.—I do not think it desirable to emphasise the fact, which, nevertheless, ought to be mentioned, that Diocesan Synods in Canada have furnished examples of heated debates, and even bitterly fought episcopal elections. Human nature has scope in all electoral assemblies, and human feeling is not often more strongly moved than on the occasion of an episcopal election. It would seem better that it should be so, than that an election of so important a kind should be treated with an indifference which could not warm itself sufficiently to take a side. Episcopal elections have in all ages of the Church's history been occasions of warm feeling. Those who seek

information on the inner life of the Canadian synodical system may find something to their purpose in Rev. J. Langtry's 'Eastern Canada and Newfoundland' (S.P.C.K.), which, I presume, gives a fair account of facts. It would not be right to slur over the fact that party feeling is at times strong in the Church in the Dominion—*e.g.*, in Toronto and Montreal it has run high. A decided improvement in tone seems to have set in of late years. The gentle and holy Bishop Mountain, of Quebec, a saint indeed, was assailed with ferocity by a party in his diocese in 1857-60, when he sought to establish a synod for Quebec. The meeting of the synod, however, proved to all that the opposition was factious, and the results have justified the promoters of synods there.

NOTE XII.—Credit must be given to the Church of the United States for the first suggestion (in 1851), which led, some years later, to the practical proposal presented by the Canadian Synod. (See 'Digest,' S.P.G., 761.) The growing interest of the Lambeth Conferences is shown by a glance at the attendance at the successive meetings. In 1867, there were present 76 bishops : 29 from the British Isles, 24 colonial and missionary, 4 retired colonial, 19 American. In 1878, 100 bishops were present : 51 from the British Isles, 30 colonial and missionary, 19 American. In 1888, of the 145 present, 57 were British, 53 colonial and missionary, 6 ex-colonial, 29 American. In 1897, 194 met ; 75 from these islands, 70 colonial and missionary, 49 American. These figures, 76, 100, 145, 194, express graphically the development of the Anglican Church, and of interest in her affairs in the last forty years. The invitation which led to this important step in advance in the organisation and increased vitality of the Church, was proposed in the Provincial Synod of Canada by a distinguished Irishman, Ontario's first bishop, and since Archbishop of Ontario and Metropolitan of Canada, the Most Rev. John Travers Lewis.

NOTE XIII.—Canterbury (598), Rochester (604), London (604), Norwich (630), Durham (634), Winton (635), Lichfield (656), Hereford (676), Worcester (680), Lincoln (680), Salisbury (705). Several of these had originally different titles.

NOTE XIV.—Nova Scotia (1787), Quebec (1793), Toronto (1839), Newfoundland (1839), Fredericton (1845), Rupertsland (1849), Montreal (1850), Huron (1857), British Columbia (1859), Ontario (1862), Moosonee (1872), Algoma (1873), Mackenzie River (1873), Saskatchewan (1874), Niagara (1875), Caledonia (1879), New Westminster (1879), Qu'Appelle (1884), Athabasca (1884), Calgary (1887), Selkirk (1890), Ottawa (1896), Keewatin (1900), Newfoundland, Kootenay (1900) has not yet come into the Canadian Province. It has been suggested ('Report of General Synod, 1896,' page 3) that this abstention is owing to a not unnatural fear that, once united to the Province of Canada, the large help received by Newfoundland from the S.P.G. might be withdrawn.

NOTE XV.—The names are representative. Each had his counterpart. Prominent are the names of Binney, of Nova Scotia; G. J. Mountain, of Quebec; Cronyn, of Huron; Lewis, of Ontario; Medley, of Fredericton. And of Presbyters, Stuart, the 'Father of the Church'; C. Milner, of New Brunswick; J. Doty, one of the early refugees; F. A. O'Meara, a native of county Wexford, who built up the Church in the island of Manatoulin; of R. MacDonald, Archdeacon of Mackenzie River; J. Hume Nicholls, thirty-two years Principal of Bishop's College, Lennoxville; of Arminie Mountain, son of Bishop Mountain, 'upon whose life was ever written the unmistakable stamp of saintliness.' And then there are the great archbishop of the west, Machray, of Rupertsland, and those true servants of God, already mentioned, Horden and Bompas. Of the lives and labours of men like these, the Church of Canada has been fruitful. Some of them have been described in Mr. Langtry's 'History of Eastern Canada.'

NOTE XVI.—The like record is made of the good Bishop Mountain and his band of clergy when the famine fever desolated the Eastern Province in 1847. It would have been a pleasing task to tell the story of the life and episcopate of this man of singular piety, whose rule was literally that of the Psalmist, 'Seven times a day do I praise Thee; at midnight also will I rise to give thanks to Thee.' His demeanour was that of one who lived in an atmosphere of ceaseless devotion,

one with whom always the ‘melody abode of the everlasting chime.’

NOTE XVII.—Trinity College has a rival in Wycliffe College, founded towards the close of Bishop Strachan’s life, and associated more intimately with the ‘Evangelical’ school in the Canadian Church. Another Church of England college in Canada is the University of King’s College, Windsor, Nova Scotia (1789). The withdrawal of Government aid in 1849 would have been ruinous to this College but for the help promptly brought by the S.P.G., which has contributed, in all, over 28,000*l.* to its maintenance. It is now much crippled by want of means. St. John’s College, Manitoba, is also a strong Church of England foundation. Erected in 1877, its prosperity is largely due to the labours of Archbishop Machray. There are smaller colleges in Prince Albert, and at St. John’s, Newfoundland. There are Theological Colleges at London (Ontario), and in Montreal, where the flourishing Diocesan College is presided over by Rev. H. M. Hackett, a distinguished scholar of T.C.D.

NOTES TO LECTURE IV

NOTE I.—‘Three great factors exercised a mighty transformation on the world’s surface,’ says the late Bishop John Selwyn in his ‘Pastoral Lectures in Cambridge, 1896.’ ‘The first was an all-potent one, conquering, changing everywhere—steam. The second was more local, in that it did not apply to all parts of the world alike, but where it did it was of resistless force—gold. The third was also local, but less fitful and transient in its operations—wool’ (pp. 17, 18). It is interesting to know that, on returning temporarily to England from Australia, in 1809, Samuel Marsden introduced Australian wool for the first time to the English public, taking it home in barrels. It was customary to charge him with too great interest in secular things—surely an unjustified charge. Who ever gave himself up more truly to things spiritual? At the same time, his large mind was capable of perceiving the future that lay

before the colony in this one product, and the relation of colonial progress to that of the Church. King George III. ordered a suit of clothes to be made for himself from Mr. Marsden's store; and, later, he presented the chaplain with some highly bred merino rams for his model farm near Paramatta. The Ven. Mr. Günther, in the 'Sydney Diocesan Directory, 1900,' writes: 'Mr. Marsden taught the early colonists the mode of rearing sheep and growing wool. That trade dates from the year 1811, the year after Mr. Marsden's return to the colony.'

NOTE II.—Provision for Roman Catholic worship also was, about five years after the foundation of the colony, made in a strange way. A Roman Catholic priest was found among the transported convicts. He was set free to 'enable him to exercise his clerical functions.' He ministered at three stations, the Roman Catholics being duly marched to the places where he celebrated Mass. What became of him is not known; but after some years it was reported that the only religious consolation provided for the Roman Catholics was a consecrated wafer left in the house of one of the prisoners, around which the men were wont to kneel and offer their devotions, no voice being raised to help or teach them, and not a clergyman of their religion being within 10,000 miles. (See 'Under His Banner,' by Prebendary Tucker, p. 223.)

NOTE III.—About two-thirds of the population of New South Wales are Protestant; the members of the Church of England, in 1891, were 502,900 out of a population of 1,123,954, exclusive of aborigines. There were in that year 286,911 Roman Catholics. Presbyterians and Methodists came next in number. In Victoria, nearly four-fifths of the population are Protestants, the number of Church of England is 417,000; of Roman Catholics nearly 250,000. In South Australia 85 per cent. are Protestants, 89,270 Church of England, 49,160 Wesleyans; 47,179 Roman Catholics; others in smaller numbers. In Tasmania—Church of England, 76,082; Roman Catholics, 25,805; Wesleyans, 17,150; Presbyterians, 9,756; Independents, 4,501; others, 12,000. Queensland—Church of England, 142,555; Roman Catholics, 92,765; Presbyterians, 45,639;

Wesleyans, 20,917. Western Australia—Church of England, 24,769; Roman Catholics, 12,464; Wesleyans, 4,556; Presbyterians, 1,996; Independents, 1,573; others, 4,424.

NOTE IV.—‘The Church of England in Australia and Tasmania’ publishes in book form the report of its quinquennial General Synod, which is a document fully presenting the chief facts of a widely diffused Church life. The General Synod does not confine itself to business matters quite so much as that of the Irish Church. In the constitution of the General Synod two or three points may be noted. Two houses are constituted—the House of Bishops and that of Representatives—which sit together, but vote separately. The representation of clergy and laity is equal, being, for each diocese, about one in ten of the clergy, and an equal number of laity. The Determinations of the General Synod do not bind the dioceses until actually accepted by the vote of each.

NOTE V.—This was not the very first step taken in this direction. In a letter written March 21, 1792, to the S.P.G., the Rev. R. Johnson, the first chaplain to the convict settlement, wrote, after mentioning the work for the convicts and their families at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, that ‘a number of the natives, both men and women, and especially children, are now every day in the camp, and he has now two native girls under his own roof. He hopes that in time these ignorant benighted heathen will be capable of receiving instruction; but this must be a work of time and much labour. It would be advisable that some suitable missionary, or, better, two, was sent out for that purpose.’—[S.P.G., ‘Digest,’ p. 387.]

NOTE VI.—S.P.G., ‘Digest,’ pp. 419–421. The settlement in 1853 is described by Bishop Short in very hopeful terms. In no instance did any of the men, sent into town with teams, become intoxicated and betray their trust. Reverence and devotion were evident in the Sunday and daily services. The singing was led by three flutes, and the voices joined in, in a low plaintive chant. Later on, Bishop Short reported that the half-caste children in his diocese were capable, in all respects, of taking their place beside the European; that they—the

men—were equal with the axe, superior on the shearing-table ; and the Bishop concludes : ‘ Let prejudice give way before the logic of facts, and let the caviller, if he can, point out a hamlet of equal numbers, composed of natives of different districts in England or Ireland, so dwelling together in peace and harmony, and equally free from moral offences, or so attentive to their religious duties, as are the natives and half-castes now dwelling in the institution at Poonindie, enjoying much happiness, and walking in the fear of God.’ What a call is here to similar effort elsewhere !

NOTE VII.—For an important statement about the godless school system of Australia, see the ‘Guardian’ for October 31, 1900. It exhibits the outline of a not inefficient work done in the day-schools after hours by ministers of all denominations. The attendance at Sunday-schools is large. The last reports given in the ‘Year-Book’ of the Church of England give figures as follows : Sydney, Sunday scholars, 31,820, with 2,349 teachers; Bathurst, 5,400; Grafton and Armidale, 4,696; Ballarat, 11,000; Brisbane, 10,642; Melbourne, 39,101; Tasmania, 3,584. In Sydney, Goulburn, Ballarat, Perth, Tasmania, limited permission is given to the clergy to give religious instruction either during or after public school hours. In Sydney such additional instruction is very fully organised. For the higher education and for theological training, the following is the provision made : In New South Wales there is, affiliated to the University of Sydney, St. Paul’s College, founded 1856. The present Warden is Canon W. H. Sharpe, M.A. There is also, in addition to Moore College, already referred to, a College of Theology, founded by the General Synod in 1891. It issues certificates, graded according to merit, to associates, licentiates, scholars, and fellows of the College of Theology, with right to wear distinctive hoods. In this diocese are also King’s High School, Paramatta, with 100 boys; St. Catherine’s Clergy Daughters’ School, with 92 girls; two Church Grammar Schools, for boys and for girls, and St. Andrew’s Cathedral Choir School. In Melbourne, affiliated to the University of Melbourne, there is Trinity College, of which our distinguished graduate, Dr. Alexander Leeper, is warden; another graduate of T.C.D., Evelyn Hogg, M.A., Sch.T.C.D., is mathematical master. There

is also a hostel for women connected with the University and College. In the Diocese of Adelaide there is a fine Church school, St. Peter's, with 350 boys; and St. Barnabas's Theological College, for training for holy orders. Tasmania is not in the background in this relation. Christ's College, founded a good many years ago by Coleridge, Stanley, and others in England, is to be raised to the status of a college for men, with a secular and a theological side.

NOTE VIII.—*Perth*.—The needs of this diocese have been set forth lately by its bishop: ‘We need additional clergy, prepared to work in a missionary spirit. There are remote newly settled districts as yet without any of the Church’s ministrations.’ (The writer has lately spoken with a settler holding a very large tract of land, who has not a church or a pastor within 200 miles.) ‘Men ready to come for the work’s sake is our greatest need; money to develop the work the next.’ But men must be ‘the right sort’—physically, intellectually, spiritually. The field is a noble one, deserving of the best labour which the Church can give.

NOTE IX.—*Rockhampton*.—From the bishop’s last report I take the following:—‘The chief need is of additional clergy in priests’ orders, thoroughly capable, and imbued with missionary zeal.’

NOTE X.—*Riverina*.—‘The country consists,’ writes the bishop, ‘of vast plains, on which millions of sheep are pastured. The squatters’ stations are scattered, and separated by great distances. The Broken Hill silver mines are in this diocese. The climate is healthy. The Church of England must have great power for good if only a sufficient supply of young, active, and earnest trained clergymen are forthcoming. If the Church can pre-occupy posts with such men she will hold her own, and her services will be preferred to all others.’ (Bishop of Brisbane, in the ‘Year-Book.’) To these add the words of the Bishop of Grafton and Armidale: ‘Young and strong men are wanted, able to manage a horse, and willing to devote themselves entirely to their work. These will find in the diocese a field of much interest, in one of the finest climates in the world.

This applies both to the mining districts of New England and to the Western plains.

NOTE XI.—I will hope that this discourse on the Church of the great Southern Commonwealth may do something to attract to the Church there some from the Divinity School of my own University of Dublin, which has sent not a few of her sons in the past to the Australian field. The S.P.G. roll alone contains the names of thirty T.C.D. men who have been connected with that Society in Australia and Tasmania. One, at least, is doing fine service as Warden of Trinity College in the Melbourne University. Of Irish clergy there stand on the missionary roll the names of Irishmen such as Hussey Burgh Macartney, whose fifty years of memorable service have left their indelible mark on the spiritual life of the Church in Victoria; of James Kirkpatrick Black, the friend of the aborigines of Queensland, who drew down on his head floods of newspaper wrath for his brave exposure of the atrocities perpetrated on the natives by godless and inhuman settlers, and who was one of the chief planters of the Church in North Queensland. Of Edward Synge I have spoken, whose early days were passed in fair Wicklow valleys, and whose manhood was given to traversing the forests and plains of the Darling to organise a diocese which does not forget him. Henry Fry, a native of Tipperary, stands on the roll also, one of the first band of missionaries to Tasmania, so far back as 1838. Philip Homan, from Donegal, spent six laborious years ministering to the miners in the Ararat gold-field. George King, the first missionary to Western Australia, stationed from 1841 to 1849 at Fremantle, added to his pioneer labour among the settlers most devoted spiritual work for the natives of the bush. He first, perhaps, learned to treat the poor blackfellow's orphan children as though they had been those of the white man, and had his reward in the bright intelligence and the ardent affection which he evoked. His later efforts to found similar schools on the Murray were too much for his failing health, and he returned home, quite broken down, in 1849. Francis Hales, ordained in 1846 for Castlebar, went to Australia in 1849, and died, as Archdeacon of Launceston, Tasmania, only in the last year. William Richardson, from co. Cavan, was another of the early Tasmanian mis-

sionaries, for fifteen years of the most anxious time of the colony. Other names from the Irish Church or universities are borne both on the roll of this university and of the mission roll of Australian workers ; and the day seems far off when the new Settlements can cease to make a fervent appeal to the Church at home and to our universities to send some of their best and bravest to lay deeply the ‘Church’s one foundation’ on the boundless plains where a new nation is arising.

NOTE XII.—The Council aims (1) to enrol a body of clergy willing to serve abroad, if invited ; (2) to select from this roll those best suited to fill particular posts ; (3) to ‘call’ such men when the bishops abroad empower them to do so. The scope of operations will not be limited to the colonies, or to those seeking only temporary employment. Further, the Council have taken steps (a) to provide, for such clergy as may volunteer, a method of placing themselves within reach of some definite call ; (b) to provide foreign bishops with a method of supplying their wants from the clergy ordained in England ; (c) to secure the intercession of all thus enrolled on behalf of the Council and of one another. Other provisions of a practical kind have also been seen to. Since the scheme came into operation in 1899, with the sanction of their bishops, twenty-two clergy had enrolled their names down to May 1900. They represent five universities and fourteen dioceses. Of those enrolled, two had been sent out up to May 1900. The Council believes that a great opening for such service will be found at the close of the Transvaal War.

NOTE XIII.—*The Colonial Clergy Act, 1874.*—This may be a suitable place to express the hope that, as closer relations are being formed with the colonial branches of the Church, and with the sister Church of the United States, some modification may be introduced into some of the clauses, or into the administration of them, of the above Act, 37 & 38 Vict. ch. 77. The aim of the Act was undoubtedly to lighten grievances caused by previous legislation on the subject ; but it still contains provisions irritating to well-educated clergy in colonial or American Orders who are invited to minister either temporarily or in permanent posts in the Church of England. [The writer may

add that there seems to be some reciprocity in this. He lived for four months in a parish in Virginia, and attended the parish church every Sunday, and was known to the rector. He was not once invited to read or preach in the church.] By Clause 3, the written permission of the archbishop of the province is required before any colonial clergyman can officiate in any church or chapel in England, besides which, before officiating, he must sign the Declaration of Conformity to the Thirty-nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer. By Clause 7, a penalty of 10*l.* is recoverable for each violation of the clause. By Clause 4, no colonial clergyman is entitled to be admitted to a curacy or benefice to which he may be appointed without the written permission of the bishop of the diocese. It is probable that an unexpressed motive for taking full advantage of the terms of these clauses, and for rendering it difficult for colonially ordained clerks to obtain preferment in England without submitting to what they think somewhat humiliating conditions, is the opinion that the educational and theological attainments of such clergy are probably inferior to those of the men educated at home. It would seem that not only on account of the higher qualifications now required, before taking Holy Orders, by the authorities of the principal Colonial Churches, and by that of the United States of America, but also on account of the increasing number of men at home who have no university qualification, some relaxation of these obstacles to preferment in England, based on supposed educational inferiority, should be granted. Every effort ought to be made to render easier and more customary the passing of clergy between the home and colonial branches of the one Anglican Church. It would seem that, with the exception of Clause 3, and its penal enforcement by Clause 7, there is not much in the terms of the statute itself which can be called humiliating to the colonial clergyman who brings all necessary testimonials as to character. Possibly there may have been that in the manner and bearing of some bishops, towards those who came to them from abroad, which did more to unpopularise the Colonial Clergy Act than anything contained within the four corners of the Act itself. The time has come for the enlargement of sympathy in this direction, even more than for repeal of the statute.

NOTES TO LECTURE V

NOTE I.—For a full account of the zeal of the earlier Wesleyan missionaries in New Zealand see Moister's 'History of Wesleyan Missions,' pp. 309-351 (Elliot Stock).

NOTE II.—It is of interest to know that this visit of the Bishop to Te Toumutu in 1844, when a settlement of about forty natives was found to be instructed in the elements of Christianity, gave occasion for the first services of our religion (January 11, 1844) in the place where now the flourishing Diocese of Christchurch is a stronghold of the faith.

NOTE III.—'Systematic emigration was promoted from home by the New Zealand Company, a joint-stock corporation, with large capital and influential support, and, unfortunately, powerful enough to modify the policy laid down by the imperial governors. . . . Large areas of North Island, where the Maoris were mainly concentrated, were acquired by the company's agents from various local chiefs in 1841, in defiance of the Treaty of Waitangi.' (Woodward, 'Expansion of the British Empire,' p. 272.)

NOTE IV.—At first New Zealand was a dependency of New South Wales, and Captain Hobson was Lieutenant-Governor under Sir George Gipps. The declaration of the Constitution of New Zealand, as an independent colony, was made in May 1841.

NOTE V.—A careful comparison of the various constitutional arrangements of non-established Churches has been made in a tract by the Revs. H. C. Powell and C. L. Dundas, published by the Church Reform League, 1899. The various methods and proportions of lay representation are here compared.

NOTE VI.—The chronological order of the establishment of general and provincial synods is as follows:—Church of the United States of America, 1789; New Zealand, 1857; Canada (Eastern), 1861; South Africa, 1870; Ireland, 1870;

Australia and Tasmania : Provincial, 1866, General, 1872 ; Rupertsland, 1875 ; Scottish Episcopal Church, 1876 ; Canada, General Synod of the two Provinces, 1893. The practical working of the Constitution in New Zealand has been fully treated by the Very Rev. Henry Jacobs, D.D., Dean of Christchurch, in his 'History of the Diocese of New Zealand' (S.P.C.K.) He has candidly set down, perhaps with unnecessary fulness, the record of various controversies which from time to time have caused friction in the synods, or between the bishops and the missionaries.

NOTE VII.—Church ships have been provided : The 'Hope,' for Danish missions, in 1718 ; in Newfoundland, the 'Hawk,' given, in 1844, by the Scottish Primus to Bishop Feild ; the 'Evangeline,' for Indian work in Algoma ; the 'Message of Peace,' 1868, for visitation in the Bahamas ; the 'Undine,' 1849, for Melanesia, succeeded by the 'Border Maid,' 1850, which in turn gave place to the 'Southern Cross,' 1854, and a second of the same name, 1872. The Universities' Mission have their 'Charles Janson' and their 'Chauncey Maples' for their inland lake, Nyassa. Other societies have similarly been served by Church ships—the London Missionary Society by the 'Duff,' the Wesleyan by the 'Triton,' and the 'John Wesley' in the South Seas. The first Church ship of this century was probably Marsden's small sloop, the 'Active,' in which he made his first memorable visit to New Zealand in 1814.

NOTE VIII.—The first Melanesian ordained was George Sarawia, in 1868. Later, several deacons were made by the Bishop of Auckland, and the first Melanesian ordained within the diocese was Edwin Sakelrau, to a Diaconate in Banks Islands, 1878. From the 'Year-Book' of the Church (1900) these interesting particulars are taken : 'Work is carried on in twenty-eight islands, under the bishop, twenty-three clergy (twelve white and eleven native), and a layman. From all the islands boys and girls are carried away to the training-school at Norfolk Island for a training lasting over seven or eight years. They are then sent back to be teachers of their own people, or others, if they volunteer for missionary work. There are now 215 in training, and 391 already teaching in 131 schools and churches,

with more than 14,000 scholars. The native Church of Melanesia now consists of over 10,000 baptised; eleven have been ordained. At Norfolk Island, during 1898, 4,300 copies of books, in five different languages, were printed by the Mission Press. There is, says the bishop, great need for more clergy; for a larger number of native teachers; and, most of all, for a ship fast enough to enable us to keep pace with an ever-growing work.'

NOTE IX.—‘The Life of Bishop Patteson,’ by Miss Yonge, has become a missionary classic. The story of the Melanesian mission may also be read in Prebendary Tucker’s ‘Life and Episcopate of Bishop Selwyn,’ and in Mr. Armstrong’s ‘History.’

NOTE X.—The title ‘Hau-hau’ arose from the superstition that the Blessed Virgin Mary had revealed to the fanatic Horo Papera Te Ha that his tribe would be victorious if they could bark like dogs, Hau-hau being a supposed imitation of that sound. (See S.P.G. ‘Digest,’ pp. 441–2.) The title ‘Pai Mariri’ has been differently rendered ‘Bide your time,’ and ‘All holy.’ The Christian religion, which had won so many adherents, was practically repudiated by this party.

NOTE XI.—The clergy trained in New Zealand appear, as a rule, to be more adapted for colonial work than those whose education has been in an English university. The intellectual and theological standard may not be so high; but experience seems to show that, with spiritual devotion and adaptability, suitable workers for pastoral needs, in all but the city centres, are provided by the New Zealand training colleges. Such colleges exist (1) near Auckland, for the training of candidates for Orders, and others; (2) Christchurch has a college with an upper department for training matriculated students of the New Zealand university. The annual value of its endowments is £3,600. University exhibitions are given to candidates for Orders; (3) a theological college in Dunedin; (4) at Bishopsdale, in the diocese of Nelson; (5) a native training college at Gisborne has received a few students for Orders. It would appear that a consolidation of the theological colleges in one central college of the highest class would be of striking advantage to the Church.

NOTE XIII.—‘ Pastoral Work in the Colonies and the Mission Field,’ by the Right Rev. J. R. Selwyn, D.D., Master of Selwyn College, and late Bishop of Melanesia. (S.P.C.K., 1897.)

NOTE XIII.—There were in December, 1898, 1,624 public primary schools, with 131,621 scholars. There were 294 private schools, with 14,782 scholars, besides 80 village schools for the Maoris.

NOTE XIV.—Statistics of Sunday-school work :—Auckland : Church population, 58,000 English, 18,000 Maori ; Sunday scholars, 9,000. Christchurch : Church population, 59,761 ; Sunday scholars, 8,000 ; average attendance, 6,000. Dunedin : Church population, 26,000 ; Sunday scholars, 3,300 ; 298 teachers. Nelson : Church population, 23,000 (according to ‘ Year Book ;’ according to Dean Jacob, 1887, 29,000) ; Sunday scholars, 3,000. Waiapu : Church population, 26,220 English, 12,000 Maori ; Sunday scholars, 1884, 4,500. Wellington : Church population, about 38,000 English, 5,240 Maori ; Sunday scholars, 5,918. Wesleyan and Presbyterian Sunday-school work is on equally earnest lines, and the cause of religion is, beyond doubt, largely benefited by these rival co-workers of ours in a world wide enough for us all. It is too late in the day to make any plaint that others have snatched some of the Church’s laurels from her brow. The Colonial and Missionary Church of the near future must be one in which the co-operation of rivals leads God’s people on towards—let every heart pray it—the better day when co-operation shall merge in unity. *O utinam sit!*

NOTES TO LECTURE VI

NOTE I.—It will be remembered that the late Sir John Seeley summed up the English history of the eighteenth century as ‘ the age of gigantic rivalry between England and France, a kind of second Hundred Years’ War.’ ‘ The great decisive duel of England and France for possession of the new world.’ (‘ The Expansion of England,’ p. 28; edit. 1.) How this appears in

the comparatively narrow field of the West Indies may be illustrated by the story of the conflicts for one small island. Tobago was granted to the Earl of Pembroke in 1628, settled by the Dutch in 1632, who were expelled by the Spaniards of Trinidad in 1634. A second settlement was planted in 1642, under the Duke of Courland; a third by the Dutch in 1658. In 1662, Louis XIV. granted it to Cornelius Lampsis; but the Courland title was renewed by Charles II. in 1664. Various changes of ownership having intervened between Dutch, French, and English from 1664 to 1677, in 1681 the Duke assigned his title to a company of London merchants. At the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle the island was neutralised. By the treaty of Paris, in 1763, it was ceded to England. The French regained possession by arms in 1781, and by treaty in 1783. Recaptured by England in 1793, restored to France by treaty in 1802, retaken by England in 1803, eventually the land had rest by final cession to the English Crown in 1814. Somewhat such was the varied history of not a few others of these beautiful islands of the Caribbean Sea.

NOTE II.—In the Calendar of State Papers, temp. 1637–60, mainly during the period of Cromwell's power, we find such entries as follows respecting Barbados and Jamaica:—

‘1655, November. Eight hundred fire-locks out of Tower to be sent to Barbados; two thousand Bibles, to be paid for with the rest of the provisions, for Jamaica.

‘1653. Order in Council for a licence to Sir John Clotworthy to transport to America five hundred natural Irishmen. Order in Council for a licence, on petition of D. Sellech, of Boston, to carry four hundred Irish children to North England and Virginia within two months, and next day for eight hundred pairs of shoes for Barbados. September 24, 1653: Order in Council for a licence to R. Netherway, of Bristol, to transport to Virginia one hundred Irish Tories.

‘1654, October. Order in Council: English, Scotch, and Irish pirates, prisoners in Dorchester jail, to be sent to Barbados, Bermuda, &c.

‘1655, September. Order in Council: Commissioners of Admiralty to send English, Scotch, Irish, and Dutch mariners, prisoners in Plymouth Castle, to Barbados.

'September 26 refers to an allowance to certain persons for one thousand Irish girls and youths to be sent to Jamaica.

'October 3. Commissioners of Admiralty to have boats built; one thousand Irish girls and as many youths of fourteen or under to be sent to Jamaica, the allowance for each not to exceed 20s.'

NOTE III.—The Codrington Grammar School was opened in 1743. It was destroyed by a hurricane in 1780, and for some years lay desolate. Not till 1830, under Bishop Coleridge, was the college, as originally designed, in full operation. Meanwhile, much good had been done by the S.P.G. missionaries in medical help, and in instructing the negroes on the estates at a time when spiritual access to them elsewhere was barred by law and custom. Schools for their children civilised and raised them. The S.P.G. slaves (how strange sounds the phrase!) were always given a half-holiday on Saturday to attend to their own little holdings, so that they might not be compelled to work on their farms or gardens on Sundays. On all other estates the slaves had no day but Sunday for this purpose. In 1825 the two estates in Barbados were the only ones certified to Government as having schools for negro children. No slaves were sold off the estates, no families were separated. In 1831 the Rev. J. H. Pinder was appointed first Principal of Codrington College, with eighteen students, while there were twenty-five boys in the Grammar School. For ten years Mr. Pinder trained men for the ministry, until he was promoted to the headship of the Church of England Theological College at Wells. Codrington College languished for a few years, but, in 1847, gained a new life from the rule of the Rev. R. Rawle. He was Principal for seventeen years, made his mark on the college in many ways, inaugurated a West Indian Mission to West Africa, now known as the Pongas Mission; and was, after a brief retirement in England, appointed Bishop of Trinidad, whence he returned once more, for a time, to rule the college in his advancing years. Bishop Rawle's services have been commemorated by the erection of a marble cross in the grounds of the college, overlooking the sea. Bishop Mitchinson, who succeeded, affiliated the college to the University of Durham, and the curriculum now follows the Durham calendar.

Unhappily, owing to the depression in the staple crop of the island, the estates are being worked at a loss, and but for help from home the college would ere this have been compulsorily closed. The S.P.G. Report for 1899 tells of generous help raised by the 'West Indian Committee' in London, an ancient society of persons having interests in these colonies, which promises to tide the property over its troubles, and adds: 'This generous help, with reforms and improvements made in Barbados, now encourage the confident expectation that the college will continue its beneficent work without fear of interruption.' For an account of the Pongas Mission of the West Indian Church, see the Rev. A. H. Barrow, 'Fifty Years in Western Africa' (S.P.C.K.). The poverty of the West Indies has compelled the Church, for the present at least, to devolve on the S.P.G. the cost of the maintenance of the Mission.

NOTE IV.—How that day was passed in Barbados is told by Bishop Coleridge (S.P.G. 'Digest,' p. 203). 'In one day—in one moment—was the great measure carried into execution. Eight hundred thousand human beings lay down at night as slaves, and rose in the morning as free as ourselves. It was to be expected that on such an occasion there might have been some outburst of public feeling. I was present, but there was no gathering that affected the public peace. There *was* a gathering, but it was a gathering of young and old in the house of the common Father of us all. It was my happiness to address a congregation of nearly 4,000 persons, of whom 3,000 were negroes just emancipated. Such was the order, and the deep attention and silence, that you might have heard a pin drop. Among this mass of people of all colours were thousands of my African brethren, joining with their European brothers in offering up their prayers and thanksgivings. To prepare the minds of such a mass of people for a change like this was a work requiring the exercise of great patience, and altogether of a most arduous nature. And it was chiefly owing to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that that day not only passed in peace, but was distinguished for the proper feeling that prevailed, and the perfect order.'

NOTE V.—Trinidad (named from the day, Trinity Sunday, of its discovery by Columbus, in 1496) was colonised by Spain

in 1532, and in 1783 it was opened to all foreigners as settlers. It was conquered by England in 1797. The work of the Church practically began in 1836. The S.P.G. helped till 1855 in school work and Indian mission work till the present day. Originally placed under the Bishop of Barbados, in 1872 it was constituted a separate see (under Bishop Rawle). The energy of the churchpeople in providing for their bishop was conspicuous, besides which the people have done something to aid the missions to the Indian coolies. This mission is being pressed, and the S.P.G. now speaks of it as a growing mission. Tobago is now united to the See of Trinidad. In the two islands there are about 58,000 churchpeople out of a population of over 250,000; and there are 12,000 communicants, 29 clergy, and 28 lay readers. The chief need of the diocese is a well-equipped training college, for which at least 1,000*l.* is required. St. Vincent is in the diocese of the Windward Islands, now under the care of the Bishop of Barbados. The population of the diocese is 136,100, of whom 57,500 are returned as members of the Church of England. Grenada is in this diocese. With the exception of three clergy, out of fourteen who are still paid by the State, the clergy are entirely dependent on the voluntary offerings of the people, who are for the most part very poor. The S.P.G. grants have been mostly withdrawn. The Christian Faith Society gives 300*l.* a year. The island of St. Vincent, to add to its other troubles, has suffered terribly and repeatedly from hurricanes.

NOTE VI.—In these colonies and Guiana, there were but seven clergy of the Church in 1812, sixteen in 1825, and twenty-five in 1834. Of Church schools there were none in 1812, two in 1825, and 104 in 1834. It was impossible for the Church to give a religious character to emancipation in these.

NOTE VII.—Royal Letters had been issued previously, as in 1819, when 45,707*l.* was thus raised, and with 5,000*l.* from the S.P.C.K., and 500*l.* from the C.M.S., was applied to the founding of Bishop's College, Calcutta. The Bible Society added 5,000*l.* for Bible translation. Long before that time Queen Anne had twice caused such letters to be issued, in 1711 and in 1714. Each succeeding monarch has aided the work of

the S.P.G. in the same way. That of 1779 contained a donation of 500*l.* from George III. An example of these Royal Letters is given in the 'Digest' of the S.P.G. Records, p. 824. It appears from this that while the bishops and clergy were directed to press upon the people the duty of supporting the Society which the Crown had incorporated, the collection was to be made from house to house—'in their dwellings'—by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor. The Royal Letter of 1711 produced 3,060*l.* within the City of London and Westminster, to which alone it applied. In 1714, 3,887*l.* was produced from a wider sphere; in 1818, from London and a circuit of ten miles around, 3,727*l.* The twelve subsequently issued, of which half have been during the late reign of Queen Victoria, have been for the two English provinces. The total sum hitherto raised by this means for the S.P.G. has been 382,931*l.* The last Letter issued was in 1853, and it is pretty certain that there will never be another.

NOTE VIII.—The C.M.S. began a mission previous to the time of emancipation, and in 1838 it had in the West Indies thirteen ordained missionaries, twenty-three lay agents, seventy schools, 8,000 persons at public worship. The work was carried on for some years, and when, for financial reasons, the Society was compelled to retire, it left an active 'going concern,' with excellent men to work it, to the Colonial Church. ('A Hundred Years, C.M.S.', p. 57.)

NOTE IX.—It might have been anticipated that, on account of the earlier work of the Nonconformists, the West-Indian population would now be preponderatingly attached to other bodies than the Church. The wonderful rally of the forces of the Church of England may be estimated by the perusal of the following summary by Bishop Barry: 'In Barbados we find that, of a population of 182,867, all, with insignificant exceptions, are returned as Christians, and of these, 147,000 belong to the Church of England, with 22,500 communicants, ministered to by about fifty-three clergy, with much lay help. In the Windward Islands the population of about 144,000 is Christian, with the exception of the Hindu coolie element, and some 45,000 are members of the Church. (This latter figure has now become

57,527. See 'Church of England Year-Book,' 1900.) In Jamaica there are but 6,990 non-Christians out of 607,798 (of whom not more than 15,000 are white), and the Church of England has ninety-five clergy and about a third of the whole population. In Antigua and the Leeward Islands there are about 127,000 people, all professing Christians, except a few Chinese immigrants, and the Church of England has thirty-five clergy and about 53,000 members (communicants, 13,500). In the Bahamas the population of 52,000 is wholly Christian, and the Church has twenty clergy, besides a large staff of catechists, under the Bishop of Nassau, and about 16,000 members. (The number of clergy in several of the above has increased since Bishop Barry wrote.) In all these dioceses, therefore, evangelistic work is mainly over; it remains to build up an established Christianity among the comparatively few English settlers and the great mass of the coloured population.' (Hulsean Lectures, on 'The Ecclesiastical Expansion of England,' pp. 345-6.)

NOTE X.—Compare the density of population in the West Indies and in New Zealand. The British West Indies have an area of about 13,750 square miles, and a population of about 1,350,000. New Zealand contains 104,500 square miles, with a population of 796,000. In the former we have an average of ninety to the square mile, in the latter, seven. The population of Barbados is about 185,000, being about 1,114 to the square mile, the densest population of any place, not a city, on earth. There seems reluctance to leave the island on the part of its coloured population, and the future is not bright.

NOTE XI.—An excellent account of the present state of the industries of these colonies will be found in the monographs of Mrs. E. Hart, of Sir Wm. Robinson, Frank Cundall, Esq., and J. O. Ohlson, in the 'British Empire Series,' vol. iii.

NOTE XII.—The history of religion in the Bahamas (which, with a short interval, have been in British possession since 1578) has been very chequered. Its outline is given in the S.P.G. 'Digest,' pp. 216-226. There came a period, in the time of its second Bishop (Venables), 1862-1875, when disendowment, hurricanes, trade paralysis, and emigration severely tried the

Church. Yet, during that very period, forty-five churches were built or restored in the Diocese of Nassau. Bishop Venables died of overwork. From his deathbed he sent a message to the S.P.G. to 'save the diocese from being blotted out of Christendom.' The Society took up the challenge, and has been very liberal to Nassau. (Nassau, capital of the island of New Providence, gives the title to the diocese, which embraces all the Bahamas, together with the Turks and Caicos group.) Under the last two bishops much progress has been made. In 1845 there were 636 communicants; in 1889, 4,727; in 1898, 5,550. The hold of the Church on the coloured people is strong. The Church has received into her communion all the Baptists, pastors and people, in the Colony. A Florida missionary, in 1883, said, speaking of Jacksonville, Fa.: 'This is the grandest field for Church work for coloured people . . . in the South. There are 7,000 coloured people here. Many of these have been brought up in the Church of England in Nassau. They are the best educated black people I have seen. I have seen but one black man in church who did not take his prayer-book and follow the service intelligently and devoutly.' (See *Results of Five Years' Work in San Salvador*, 'Mission Field,' July, 1890.)

NOTE XIII.—Guiana comprises, perhaps, more nationalities than any other British colony. Here are aborigines, 8,000; Portuguese, 12,000; Hindus, 106,000; Chinese, 4,000; negroes, 120,000; Europeans, 5,000; and mixed, 29,000. There are now about 20,000 communicants of the Church in the diocese, and 12,000 children on the rolls of the day-schools, and 6,390 on the Sunday-school roll. The diocese, like so many others in Greater Britain, suffers from an insufficient number of clergy.

NOTES TO LECTURE VII

NOTE I.—'If ever the time should come when Christians should draw towards each other, as everything invites them to do, it seems as if the movement must emanate from the Anglican Church, as she may be regarded as one of those solvents capable

of uniting elements in what otherwise would be incapable of combination.' (Count Joseph de Maistre, 'Considérations sur la France.') 'I reverently believe,' says Dr. Whipple, the aged Bishop of Minnesota (1888), 'that the Anglo-Saxon Church has been preserved by God's Providence (if her children will accept this mission) to heal the divisions of Christendom.' And again: 'The Church of the Reconciliation will be an historical and catholic Church in its ministry, its faith, and its sacraments. . . . It will preserve all that is catholic and Divine. It will adapt and use the instrumentalities of any existing organisation which will aid it in doing God's work. It will put away all which is individual, narrow, and sectarian. It will concede to all who hold the faith all the liberty with which Christ hath made His people free.' (Sermon before Lambeth Conference, 1888. 'Report,' p. 246.)

NOTE II.—Cape Town had, during the last five years of the eighteenth century, been ours, but had been restored to Holland at the Peace of Amiens. It was retaken by England in 1806, and its possession confirmed to her by treaty, 1814. (For the history of these events, see Woodward, 'The Expansion of the British Empire,' chapter x., Cambridge, 1899 ; Johnston, 'The Colonisation of Africa,' Cambridge, 1899 ; 'British Africa,' in the 'British Empire Series,' Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., 1900 ; S.P.G. 'Digest,' p. 268.)

NOTE III.—An early account of Kaffraria and its people will be found in the 'Appendix to Rev. John Campbell's "Travels in South Africa," undertaken at the request of the (London) Missionary Society' (London, 1815). It gives a quaintly interesting account of the first days of our colony and of the work of missions. A readable retrospective sketch of the useful labours of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, by John Mackenzie, was published by the Society in 1888.

NOTE IV.—The two great races which occupy Central and South Africa are the Gariepini (or yellow and oblique-eyed) and the Bantu, of a darker hue. The former (Gariepini, from Gariep, the native name of the Orange River) includes the Hottentots, Namaquas, Koramas, and Bushmen ; they were first

found in possession of the country at the south-west. These races were pastoral, and had flocks and herds by the Orange River. The Bantus include many smaller tribes, and are derived from Central Africa, and to these belong the people of the lake regions and on the Congo. The Kafirs are by far the most important members of this group. Many missionary societies have approached them with the Gospel. They had not quite reached, in their southern advance, the border of Cape Colony (the Great Fish River), at the time of our first occupation. The Bantus include the Zulus, Basutos, Matabili, Pondos, Baralongs, Mashonas. The warrior tribes of Zululand are a result of evolution in our own days, the military system having transformed them into a formidable race, acting strictly in concert in their wars. (For a short readable account of these tribes, see Woodward, as quoted in last note, pp. 281-2; Bryce, 'Impressions of South Africa,' chaps. viii. to x.) The warrior tribes of Zululand, after having cost us dearly in war in 1878-9, are now willingly receiving the Gospel, and the Church makes some real progress among them.

NOTE V.—This condemnation of the Dutch Reformed Church must not be taken to apply in all cases to the present time. The South African Dutch Church has now some valuable missions. In Nyassaland, in immediate contact with our Universities' Missions, and apparently in union with the missions of the L.M.S., it is at work, and the present Bishop of Likoma has described a visit to their mission-stations at Mvera. 'I have,' he wrote, 'a genuine admiration for those Scotch and Dutch for their thoroughness and earnestness and reality. It is always a pleasure to me to visit them—to compare their methods with ours, and to co-operate in every possible way with their excellent work. I preached on Sunday in their Church there, and gave an address to the members of the Mission.' ('Central Africa,' February, 1900.)

NOTE VI.—An impartial chapter on missions will be found in Mr. Bryce's 'Impressions.' His words are not enthusiastic, but they are not unhopeful. He sees that as time goes on the restraints, such as they were, of paganism will be removed, perhaps before the new Christian teaching has been assimilated.

But there is nothing in the experience of the missions to discourage the hope that such teaching may come to prevail among them, and that through it each generation may show a slight moral advance upon that which has gone before. He adds : ' As the profession of Christianity will create a certain link between the Kafirs and their rulers, which may soften the asperity which the relations of the two races now wear, so its doctrines will in time give them a standard of conduct similar to that accepted among the whites, and an ideal which will influence the superior minds among them. So much may certainly be said, that the Gospel and the Mission-schools are at present the most truly civilising influences which work upon the natives, and that upon these influences more than any other agency, does the progress of the coloured race depend.' Contrast with this the hostile references to Missions in ' British Empire Series,' *South Africa*.

NOTE VII.—In response to an appeal of Captain Allen Gardiner, who, later on, laid down his life for Christ in Tierra del Fuego, the C.M.S., in 1836, sent out the Rev. Francis Owen as a missionary to the Zulus, or 'Zoolahs, as they were then called. Before the mission could be further strengthened the treachery and cruelty of the Zulu king, Dingaan, the predecessor of Cetewayo, and the state of war prevailing, compelled Mr. Owen to leave. And thus ended the only missionary attempt made by the C.M.S. in South Africa. The difficulty of the work there is recognised by Mr. Stock in one phrase in his ' Hundred Years,' (p. 167) : ' In South Africa we now find no C.M.S. Missions ; but we find the S.P.G. and many others working in *the hardest of all fields*—the borderland of native barbarism and civilisation.'

NOTE VIII.—The present ecclesiastical Province of South Africa comprises the dioceses named. Independent African dioceses, not yet organised in any provincial way, are those of Mauritius (1854) ; Madagascar (1874) ; Zanzibar (1861) ; Uganda (1884) ; Mombasa (1898) ; Likoma (1892) ; Sierra Leone (1852) ; West Equatorial Africa (1894), with two assistant bishops. There is also the Missionary Bishopric of Cape Palmas (1836), founded by the Church of the United States of America.

NOTE IX.—Let me also call attention to an interesting book recently published by Messrs. Wells Gardner, Darton, & Co., *The Transvaal as a Missionary Field.*

NOTE X.—A few facts may be gathered in a note on the later and present state of the South African dioceses. Colonial work, *i.e.* ministrations to English settlers, was warmly supported by the S.P.G. until the time arrived when the maintenance of the ministry and education could be left to the people themselves. From this part of the work the Society has almost entirely withdrawn, but throws its strength into missions to the heathen. The S.P.G. has spent over 820,000*l.* on these colonies, and still gives grants in aid of stipend to the Bishops of St. John's, Mashonaland, Pretoria, and St. Helena.

Diocese of Cape Town.—Fifty-eight thousand churchpeople form a respectable minority among a population of 403,453 (over 14 per cent.). The country districts are mainly occupied by the Dutch Reformed Church; but the Anglican Church is well represented both in the country and in all the towns. It has 160 Church buildings, 107 Church schools, a diocesan college with 100 students; 26,000*l.* a year is raised by the Church for her general purposes, and a cathedral is being built, to supersede an unworthy structure, at a cost of 100,000*l.* In this diocese are about 43,000 heathen and Mohammedans. At Zonnebloom, in our training institution, forty Kafirs have been educated; there is a diocesan college (with 110 students) at Rondebosch, a diocesan college school at Claremont with 100 boys, and a cathedral grammar school with 116 boys.

Grahamstown.—(Eastern Cape Colony.)—This diocese is largely settled by English people, and the Church is here stronger than the Dutch Reformed. The native reserves are well ministered to under the S.P.G. The training institution at Grahamstown has sent out pupils of fifteen races. There are ninety clergy in the diocese. The training institution at Keiskamma Hoek is one of the most important in South Africa, and is splendidly supported by S.P.G. grants. The Cape Government also gives aid.

St. John's, Kaffraria.—Natives (Bantu), 600,000; Europeans, 15,000; Hottentots and Griquas, about 5,000. Little immigration from home. The natives are all industrious

farmers. The Christians are the most progressive. St. John's College, Umtata, has ninety boarders and 200 day scholars. The Scottish Church, which received her Bishop Cotterill from Grahamstown, well supports this see and its missions, and publishes a 'Mission Chronicle' dealing chiefly with the diocese. From its issue for 1897 we learn that there are 14,640 baptised, of whom 3,932 are native communicants. There are 5,129 day scholars in mission schools. There are thirty-six permanent churches and 124 out-stations. The S.P.G. gives 4,000*l.* a year, and as much more is raised locally and through the Scottish Church.

Natal (founded in 1854).—The Diocese of Natal is co-extensive with the colony of Natal. In the diocese the last Blue Books give 503,208 natives and 50,000 Indians, indentured or otherwise. They speak at least fifteen languages, and the young are inclined to affect English ways. They will probably adopt Christianity as an appendix to Western civilisation. They have two Indian temples in Maritzburg, and there is an active Church mission among them, and nineteen prosperous schools with 2,000 scholars. The European population of the diocese is 45,700. The total Church membership is 14,650, with 3,822 communicants. Parishes 19, churches and mission-rooms 104, clergy 48, school children 3,000. There is a sisterhood which conducts orphanage and boarding and day schools, and a Mercy House. A diocesan college for sixty girls prospers. The clergy in Natal did fine service during the war. Canon Barker, of Ladysmith, specially endeared himself to the beleaguered garrison by his sympathy, courage, and hopefulness, and the bishop continually moved about, acting as a chaplain to the troops.

Bloemfontein (founded 1863, to be the Diocese of the Orange Free State, Basutoland, Griqualand West, and British Bechuanaland).—The following extract from Dr. Campbell's 'Diary' of 1813, quoted in a former note, may give an interesting suggestion as to the origin of the name: 'June 17, 1813, reached John *Bloom's fountain* . . . which derives its name from a runaway from the colony, who, about fourteen years ago, i.e. 1799, put himself at the head of many Bushmen, and others. . .' The population of this diocese, in 1891, was, in all

about 600,000, with forty-five clergy. The excellent Bishop Hicks died during the late war. There were over 6,000 communicants, by last reports, of whom 4,000 were native and coloured. The amount locally raised for Church purposes in 1897 was 7,914*l.*; S.P.G. grants, 2,050*l.* The diocesan institutions are : Mission Brotherhood of St. Augustine, Modderpoort ; Sisterhood of SS. Michael and all Angels, Bloemfontein ; St. Andrew's College, or high school for boys, at Kimberley ; a similar school for girls, and *scholae cancellariae* at Bloemfontein. A diocesan college for training native agents at St. Mary's, Thlotse Heights, Basutoland, and thirty-five day schools. There is a strong mission at Thaba 'Nchu, endowed with a large farm by a Baralong chief. Bishop Knight Bruce, of this diocese, made a long exploring tour to the north of the Transvaal, which led to the founding of the See of Mashonaland. He was afterwards bishop of the latter see, and did fine work of personal devotion during the Matabili war.

Pretoria.—Formed from Bloemfontein, 1877. The chequered history of the Church cannot be told here. Before the war the number of European Church members was about 18,000, native 10,000, with a bishop and thirty-two clergy, nearly all of whom were expelled from the Republic at the outbreak of hostilities. The immense population of wealth-seekers demanded devoted and varied work of the Church. Some rich men gave very liberally. One provided 850*l.* a year for clergy in the mining districts ; another built a church. Strong missions to the Cape boys and Kafir workers in the mines of the Witwatersrand were established. In Pretoria and Johannesburg there will soon be fresh openings for devoted clergy, and the Colonial and Continental Church Society purpose placing one of their missionaries there. (For an interesting account of the founding of the Church in the Transvaal, see Bishop Bousfield's 'Six Years in the Transvaal,' published by the S.P.C.K.) The Wesleyans have strong missions in this diocese.

Mashonaland.—The diocese is still in its early stage, but solid foundations have been laid. The bishop is Dr. Gaul, a son of the Irish Church, as is also Archdeacon Balfour of Bloemfontein. The European population in 1899 was about 6,500. Fort Salisbury is the headquarters of the mission. Native work has

been begun in five stations. The cost of living is high. There is much need of more Church workers, clergy and lay. The S.P.G. gives nearly 2,000*l.* to the diocese. The S.P.G. 'Report,' for 1899, gave a remarkably full account of the varied work of the diocese, written by its bishop.

Lebombo.—The work here is at its earliest stage. It occupies the region with which we are so well acquainted as Delagoa Bay and Lorenço Marquez.

Zululand.—A missionary bishopric, of which something is said in the text. The S.P.G. pays three of the clergy, and gives 500*l.* a year besides. The population is about 180,000. There are ten missionary centres, and Archdeacon Johnson has much encouragement, having under him an assistant priest (native), three deacons (one native), and twenty native catechists. In the remaining nine mission districts there are seven priests, two deacons, and thirty-six assistants (twenty-six native).

St. Helena.—The population is of a mixed race. There are in the diocese (which includes St. Helena, Ascension, and Tristan d'Acunha) 3,820 Church members, six consecrated churches. At present the clerical staff is low in number. There are eight schools in St. Helena, in five of which Church teaching is given, 400 children receiving such teaching. The voluntary contributions for Church purposes are miserably low, amounting, in 1894, to only 336*l.* The diocese appears not to be in a strong or healthy condition.

NOTE XI.—The Roman Catholic Hierarchy in South Africa consists of Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope East, Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope West, Bishop of Natal, Bishop of Orange Colony, Bishop of Orange River. Both in South Africa and New Zealand the Roman Catholic Hierarchy is less numerous than ours. In Australia it is far more numerous; twenty-five bishops there stand against our fourteen. Cardinal Vaughan, in a statement made in May 1900, estimated at fifty thousand the number of the Roman Catholic Church in all South Africa.

NOTE XII.—Signs of good feeling, in spite of natural dislike of an intruder, were never wanting on the part of the Dutch in the Bishop's day—*e.g.* Mr. Long (1845) reported that the Dutch

were quite enchanted with the beauty of the English liturgy, and contributed largely to the erection of his church. ('Digest,' S.P.G., p. 273.) In the country 'the districts were chiefly held by the Dutch colonists, who had ever shown a kindly spirit towards the members of the English Church settled among them' (*ib.* p. 274). 'The Dutch ministers readily placed their churches at the bishop's disposal for services,' and in the Dutch church at Colesberg, Dr. Orpen, a T.C.D. graduate, and cousin of the Ven. Archdeacon Orpen, Ardfert, was ordained deacon (see 'Digest,' pp. 276, 281). Bishop Gray wrote, 1850: 'From some of the ministers of the Dutch Church much kindness and co-operation have been experienced. Independents, Baptists, Romanists, and some other self-constituted societies and sects, have been the most bitter.' These facts should be on record for the coming time. In 1855, Bishop Gray wrote in his 'Journal': 'Would that I could hope that we should all be united in one communion!' Sixteen years later his hopes were still there, and he was definitely attempting to bring them under practical consideration.

NOTE XIII.—See Bishop Webb's 'Some Questions on the Settlement of South Africa' (Skeffington, 1900). Bishop Webb quotes a letter from a native missionary, written February 1900. 'I am glad,' he wrote, 'to be able to assure your lordship that in this matter we are all united. Christian and heathen alike, there is no discord. Success to British arms is the wish and prayer of us all. . . . The loyalty of the natives cannot be questioned. Whatever grievances they may have, on one thing they are all agreed—that they will have none of Boer rule.' In like terms: 'The Queenstown Synod (native) of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, representing over fifty-two thousand native members and adherents, . . . earnestly and unanimously wishes to express its continued loyalty to the person and the throne of Queen Victoria. It desires to express its sympathy with the Imperial Government and its aims at the present time, and it would earnestly pray for the speedy establishment of British rule throughout South Africa, thus securing a righteous and enduring peace' (pp. 24, 25).

NOTE XIV.—I cannot refrain from quoting the Basuto chief's (Moloppo) view of the advantage of having rival missionary societies at work in his country. ‘ I have seen hitherto only two kinds of Christians in this country—the Ma-Franse and the Ma-Roma. I have also heard of the Ma-Wesley, who are on the border. But I am now glad to see the Ma-Churche coming to my house. It is good to have these four kinds of Christians near. It is like a man having four cows. Sometimes he can milk them all, but when some fail him he can always have a supply of milk from the others. So Ma-Frause, Ma-Roma, Ma-Wesley, and Ma-Churche all supply us in their own way with good things out of the Word of God.’ (S.P.G. ‘Digest,’ p. 326.) See Canon Widdicombe’s ‘Fourteen Years in Basutoland,’ 1876–90.

APPENDIX

RELATION OF THE COLONIAL CHURCH TO THE CHURCH AT HOME

FROM time to time serious discussions have taken place on this subject, which, having been, perhaps, most urgent in connection with the relation of the South African Church to Canterbury, may best find notice here. The two poles of thought are—(1) the freedom of Colonial Churches ; (2) the necessity of union in the whole Anglican communion. In almost all really important matters this polarity appears. Men's minds, in politics or in theology, are attracted to one or the other pole. In the question now before us it is evident that some will urge strongly the necessity of colonial independence, and will resist all approach to a course which might threaten to set up at Canterbury an English Papacy. Others, on the other hand, will contend vigorously for such solidarity in the Anglican communion as will guard it against gradual division into as many independent parts as there are provinces in the ecclesiastical world.

The subject was pressed on the Lambeth Conference of 1897, under the title of 'Organisation of the Anglican Communion.' The Encyclical issued at its close declared that 'for the consolidation of all provincial action every Bishop at his consecration should take the oath of canonical obedience to his own Metropolitan, and that every Bishop

consecrated in England under the Queen's mandate for service abroad should make a solemn declaration that he will pay all due honour and deference to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and will respect and maintain the spiritual rights and privileges of the Church of England, and of all Churches in communion with her.' ('Lambeth Conference Report,' p. 19.)

Tribunal of Reference.—This has been also discussed with earnestness. It has been felt that there would be a gain if some tribunal of reference existed to which all the various provinces of our communion should have access if they desired it. The South African Province, in 1894, passed resolutions for safeguarding the union with the Mother Church on the basis of the provincial canons and declaration of fundamental principles, which fully express this determination. But they desired that ultimate decisions on questions of faith and doctrine should not rest with this province in isolation. Unsuccessfully, in 1888, the South African Province brought before the Lambeth Conference the desirability of creating a common Council of Reference. Failing the creation of such by the Lambeth Conference, the Bishops expressed a willingness to consider the creation of a Council of Reference for this province at the next Provincial Synod.

The subject was again brought before the province before the Lambeth Conference of 1897. A committee of the Conference reported in favour of the creation of a Tribunal of Reference. But it was not upheld by the Conference, and the proposal was withdrawn. A resolution was, however, passed 'that it is advisable that a consultative body should be formed, to which resort may be had, if desired, by the national Churches, provinces, and extra-provincial dioceses of the Anglican communion, either for information or advice; and that the Archbishop of Canterbury be

requested to take such steps as he may think most desirable for the creation of such consultative body.' ('Conference Report,' p. 34.)

A resolution was adopted at the last Provincial Synod of South Africa deciding that 'in cases involving questions of faith or doctrine it shall be competent to any party to a suit to require that the case be submitted to the consultative body constituted as above ; and the ultimate sentence of the Court shall be in accordance with the advice of the consultative body.' (Provincial Synod, 1898 : 'Proceedings,' p. 29.)



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